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THE
PORTFOLIO



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THE
PORTFOLIO

*MONOGRAPHS ON ARTISTIC SUBJECTS
WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS*

WHITEHALL

By W. J. LOFTIE

JAPANESE WOOD-ENGRAVINGS

By PROFESSOR ANDERSON

ANTOINE WATTEAU

By CLAUDE PHILLIPS

LONDON

SEELEY AND CO., LIMITED, ESSEX STREET, STRAND

NEW YORK : MACMILLAN AND CO.

1895

WHITEHALL

HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL NOTES

By

W. J. LOFTIE

B.A.; F.S.A.



LONDON

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

P L A T E S

	PAGE
Inigo Jones. <i>From the Engraving by Van Voerst, after Van Dyck</i> . . . <i>Frontispiece</i>	
Apotheosis of James I. <i>From the Engraving by S. Gribelin, after Rubens</i> . . . <i>to face</i>	32
Whitehall in 1724. <i>From the Engraving by J. Kip</i> „	68
Scotland Yard. <i>From an Engraving by E. Rooker, after Paul Sandby, R.A.</i> . . „	72

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Banqueting Hall, Holbein's Gate, and Treasury. <i>From the Engraving by J. Silvestre,</i> 1640	11
Holbein's Gate. <i>From the Engraving by G. Vertue, 1725</i>	14
Whitehall, from King Street. <i>From a Drawing by T. Sandby, R.A. Engraved by</i> R. Godfrey, 1775	17
Whitehall. <i>From an Engraving after a Drawing by Hollar in the Pepysian Library,</i> <i>Cambridge</i>	19
The King Street Gate. <i>From the Engraving by G. Vertue, 1725</i>	23
Detail of Banqueting House. <i>From Kent's "Inigo Jones"</i>	28
Detail of Banqueting House. <i>From Kent's "Inigo Jones"</i>	29
Section of the Banqueting House. <i>From Kent's "Inigo Jones"</i>	31
Plan of Whitehall. <i>Engraved by G. Vertue, from a Survey made in 1680</i>	33
First Design by Inigo Jones for the rebuilding of Whitehall. Waterside Front. <i>From</i> Müller	35
First Design by Inigo Jones for the rebuilding of Whitehall. Bird's-eye View. <i>From</i> Müller	37

	PAGE
Part of the First Design by Inigo Jones for the rebuilding of Whitehall. <i>From Kent's</i>	
<i>"Inigo Jones"</i>	40
Part of the Second Design by Inigo Jones for the rebuilding of Whitehall. <i>From</i>	
Campbell's <i>"Vitruvius Britannicus"</i>	40
The Guardroom, Scotland Yard. <i>From an Etching by J. T. Smith, 1805</i>	46
Lambeth and Whitehall. <i>From the Engraving by W. Hollar</i>	52
Whitehall, from the River. <i>From Ogilvy's Map, 1677</i>	54
The Execution of Charles I. <i>From a Print of 1649</i>	59
Pyramidal Dial in Privy Garden, set up in 1669. <i>From an Engraving by H. Steel,</i>	
1673	67
Funeral of Queen Mary, 1694. <i>From an Engraving by P. Persoy</i>	71
Part of the Old Palace of Whitehall. <i>From an Etching by J. T. Smith, 1805</i>	73
View in Privy Garden. <i>From an Engraving by J. Malcolm, 1807</i>	74
Privy Garden. <i>From an Engraving by T. Malton, 1795</i>	76
Bird's-eye View of Whitehall and St. James's Park. <i>From Smith's "Views of</i>	
Westminster"	77

WHITEHALL

CHAPTER I

Site of Whitehall in the Twelfth Century—Part of Westminster—Hubert de Burgh—York House—Wolsey—Hentzner—Henry VIII.—His Honour of Westminster—Holbein's Gate—Anne of Cleves—Funeral of Henry VIII.

WHEN Abbot Laurence, of Westminster, looked out to the northward or north-eastward, he could see no land—as far as the wall of London—which did not belong to him and his house. This was the Abbot who first had leave to assume the mitre, and in 1163 he obtained from Pope Alexander II. the canonisation of Edward the Confessor. When worshippers wished to kneel at the new saint's shrine they had to reach Westminster as best they could. Some, especially those who lived at Charing, or further up the hill, in what was afterwards Hedge Lane, would make their way to the Thames, the best highway in those days. In some seasons, perhaps, the water-courses, which had their origin in the Tyburn, might be dry enough to let them pass, but there were as yet no regular roads and no bridges. One of these water-courses supplied the Abbey, and one ran out where Richmond Terrace is now. We have two documents from which to draw a picture of the ground which was not yet Whitehall. First, we have the evidence afforded by the geographical features of the locality; and, secondly, we have the report of a trial which took place some sixty years ago, when, no doubt, all possible charters and grants and leases and demises were cited. The trial was between the people of Westminster and the people who lived in

Richmond Terrace. Westminster claimed that the Terrace was within the boundaries of St. Margaret. The Terrace claimed that it was extra-parochial, as being on part of the site of the palace of Whitehall. The counsel for Westminster was able to show that Whitehall had been private property before the reign of Henry VIII., and that neither he nor any one else had made it extra-parochial. The verdict, therefore, was in favour of the parishioners of St. Margaret.

We may return to this interesting and instructive report, with its wealth of ancient evidence, and interrogate that much more ancient document, the face of the country. Strange to say, a great deal of that country remains as it was in, say, the reign of Henry III. The green fields and the water-courses are there, though the Abbot in 1250 could no longer look across his own land all the way from Westminster. The divided Tyburn wandered over the green expanse, untroubled with bridges. Two or three small brooks formed here a kind of delta. On the south, one of them ran through Westminster Abbey and divided Thorney Island from Tot Hill. Another ran through the district we call Whitehall. The land between was low and marshy, and even at the present day, when there has been so much levelling up, the statue of Charles I. is upon ground ten feet higher than Parliament Street. If, standing on the future site of Whitehall we looked to the westward, we saw nothing but a vast tract of low green meadow-land. If we looked to the south, we might have seen the new buildings of Westminster Abbey, unless when the Danes had been on the warpath. If we looked to the eastward, we found that the Thames washed up close to our feet.

At this early period, and down to the reign of King Edward I., there were no houses in sight, except those which clustered about the Abbey, those which constituted the village of Charing, and in the far distance the grim walls, the red-tiled roofs, and the church towers of the City. London was more plainly visible than it is now, and on account of a curious bend in the course of the Thames, was nearly as visible from Westminster. By the thirteenth century a great change had come over all the district. The Thames was better confined within its proper limits; some measure of embanking

had been carried out, and a great many alterations in City life, in Church arrangements, and in the King's policy have been detailed in the histories of London. We need not go far into them here. Before 1200, all the land between the Abbot and London belonged to him. By 1222 all was changed, or about to be changed, and the Abbot owned nothing except the advowson of the far-off St. Bride's. St. Bride's belongs to Westminster even now. The King laid claim to certain foreshores on the banks of the Thames. Undoubtedly, they belonged by an ancient grant to the Abbot, but we must take into consideration that what had been only occasionally dry land in the eleventh century was permanently dry in the thirteenth; and the King had conferred, and was conferring, too many benefits on the Abbot and his monks and their church to permit them to dispute his royal, if illegal, pleasure. The Bishop of Exeter formed a little estate of the Outer Temple. From his precincts westward the constant embanking, and especially the formation of the roadway of the Strand, left a wide strip now permanently dry. This strip the King erected into a manor, and bestowed upon his wife's uncle, Count Peter. Peter became Count of Savoy in 1263, and the manor has ever since been called after him. The next of these reclamations was Whitehall. In the lawsuit already mentioned, a document was produced which threw great light on the early history of the district. It relates to the sale by Roger de Ware and Maud, his mother, to Hubert de Burgh, of their land here. Another document was a similar sale by Odo, the King's goldsmith, of an adjoining plot, identified as stretching from the highway to the Thames.

Hubert's choice of a residence was determined, no doubt, because it placed him within easy reach of the city on one side, and of the King's palace on the other. He probably seldom used the road through the newly-constructed King Street, or the other road through the Strand—a road famous for ruts and mud. He went either to Westminster or to London by water, as did his great neighbours in the Savoy, and the bishops who had palaces outside the Bar of the Temple. We often wonder why our ancestors preferred these low-lying places for their houses. The answer is the difficulty they experienced in locomotion by land. The "silent highway" of the Thames

was such a convenience that all who could possibly afford it preferred to be within easy reach of water.

Hubert had no easy part to play. From 1227 he had to do daily battle with the young King, who already, though still a boy, showed signs of the combined obstinacy and incompetence which characterised him through life. Hubert saw the impolicy of yielding to the papal claims. He followed, as Bishop Stubbs remarks, in the footsteps of William Marshall, taking a middle path between the feudal designs of the great nobles and the despotic theories of the late King. In both these particulars he was in opposition to Henry, who was bound to the Pope by his education, and to the retrograde party by his personal prejudices. Hubert served the King too well to please the people, and spared the people too much to satisfy Henry. In 1232 he was dismissed, and his ungrateful master, not content with his dismissal, trumped up a series of charges against him, just as Henry's descendant, Henry VIII., did with regard to Cardinal Wolsey. Hubert had been made Earl of Kent in 1227, and Constable of the Tower of London just before his disgrace—in fact, only a few days before—and during the same month was himself lodged in the Tower as a prisoner. Eventually his lands were restored, but he was not allowed to leave his castle at Devizes; he survived till 1243, when he died, as Matthew Paris relates, “full of days.” He had been five times married, and reckoned among his wives the widow of King John, and the sister of Alexander III., king of Scotland; but he left only two children, John, his son, and Margaret, his daughter. The subsequent history of the land now called Whitehall, so far as Hubert was interested in it, may be briefly detailed. Hubert had made a vow to go to the Holy Land and fight the infidel, being himself, as Roger of Wendover says, *Miles strenuus*; but not being able to fulfil his vow, he gave his land at Whitehall, which he describes as being in the parish of St. Margaret's, into the hands of trustees to be sold in aid of an expedition to the Holy Land. The trustees promptly sold it to Walter Grey, archbishop of York, who annexed it to his See. Walter died in 1255, and was succeeded by Sewall Bovill, who had been Dean of York. Thirty archbishops in all held this house, beginning with Walter Grey and ending with

Thomas Wolsey. It is curious to remark that no trace now exists of their occasional residence. It was uniformly called York House, and we may be sure that Wolsey improved it, and built a hall and a chapel similar to those at Hampton Court. One or two old views show us stately and lofty buildings in the half-Gothic, half-Italian style, which is so familiar at Christ Church at Oxford, and at King's College at Cambridge. A large hall was in King Street; that is, outside Holbein's Gate. We see it beyond the gate in Silvestre's view; and it stands up dark and heavy, with its strong buttresses on the left hand, in T. Sandby's view. In the last century, when it had been part of the Treasury buildings for generations, it was newly fronted in stone, and the buttresses turned into pilasters. Since then it has been refronted twice—by Soane in 1824, and by Barry in 1846. Barry greatly increased the length. It would be interesting, but almost impossible, to ascertain if any of the masonry of Wolsey's building still remains within the new walls.

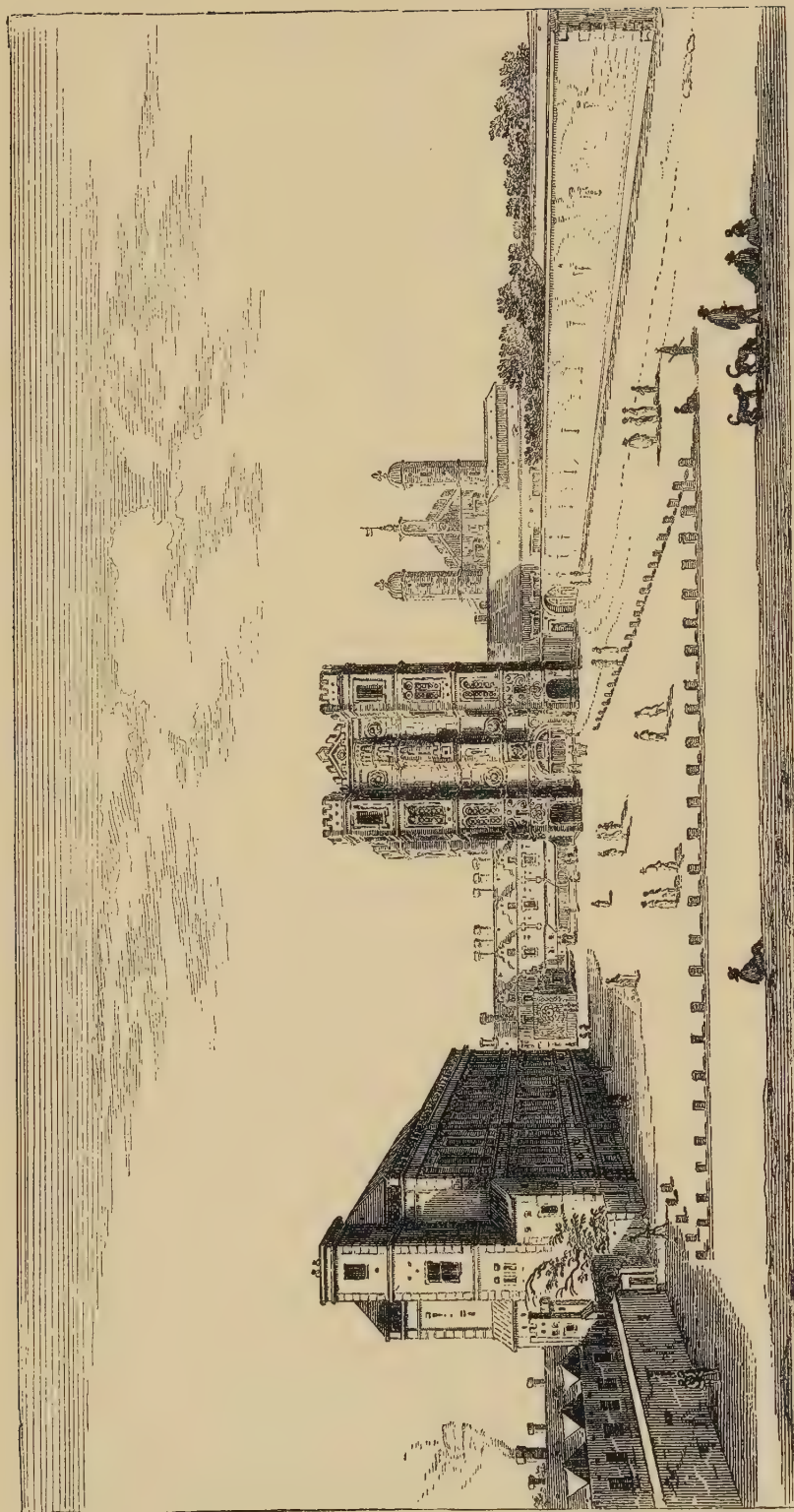
This is, of course, a digression. No part of the Treasury is in Whitehall; but the reason for mentioning it is that its inclusion in the two engravings I have named shows us what, in all probability, Wolsey's other buildings were like. Paul Hentzner, writing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, says that they were "truly royal." Very little building of any importance went on under Henry VIII. or his three immediate successors, so that Hentzner's allusion must be to what Wolsey left. It is true, as we shall see, that Henry proposed to improve and extend it; but we may rest certain that he added nothing to its magnificence, if we except the gates; as the anonymous author of *Dodsley* remarks, he had a greater taste for pleasure than for elegance of building, and immediately on entering upon possession he ordered a tennis court, a cockpit, and a series of bowling-greens.

But we are going too fast. In the beginning of 1530 Cardinal Wolsey was still in possession, and there are various accounts of how he transferred the palace of his predecessors to the King. Henry was not very scrupulous in matters of this kind. He was much given to breaking the tenth commandment, and especially to coveting his neighbour's house. He had already helped himself to Hampton Court, and a curious anecdote will be found in Thorne's *Environs*. Lord Windsor

was much attached to his place at Stanwell, which had descended to him from a long line of ancestors. The house, no doubt, was in what agents nowadays call ornamental repair. He entertained the King royally, and Henry, with the kind of gratitude peculiar to him, promptly commanded him to hand it over. He gave in exchange the Manor of Bordesley and the Abbey, which Henry had taken from the monks. Windsor had just laid in a stock of provisions for his Christmas festivities, but he refused to remove them, saying that the King should not find it bare Stanwell when he came to take possession. The curious part of the story is that Henry does not seem ever to have visited it again, and we know that he soon afterwards leased it away. At the time of Wolsey's fall, Henry had been for several years almost without a home in London; his apartments at Westminster were burnt in 1512, and after twenty years, in 1532, he bought the hospital of St. James's-in-the-Fields. Between these dates he would have been without a London palace, except the Tower or Bridewell, but on the fall of Cardinal Wolsey certain illegal formalities were complied with, and Henry became possessed of Whitehall. The gates north and south of the royal precincts were needful on account of the old right of way between Charing—now become Charing Cross—and Westminster; and in 1535 Henry built the church of St. Martin, near to where the royal mews had been from time immemorial, with a view to prevent the constant passage of funerals from the northern to the southern part of St. Margaret's.

In addition, Henry acquired all the land between Charing Cross and an outlying suburb of Westminster known as Little Cales, or Calais. More than this, he annexed all the green to the westward, which I have already mentioned. Abbot Islip had, in fact, nothing left of the great manor which after the Conquest had belonged to Westminster Abbey. The City of London had acquired the great ward of Farringdon Without. The lawyers had the Inner and Middle Temples. The King had inherited from the wife of John of Gaunt all the manor of the Savoy. And now Henry VIII. helped himself to the remainder.

It will be interesting to see the document by which the Abbot conveyed the inheritance of his house to the King. I am tempted



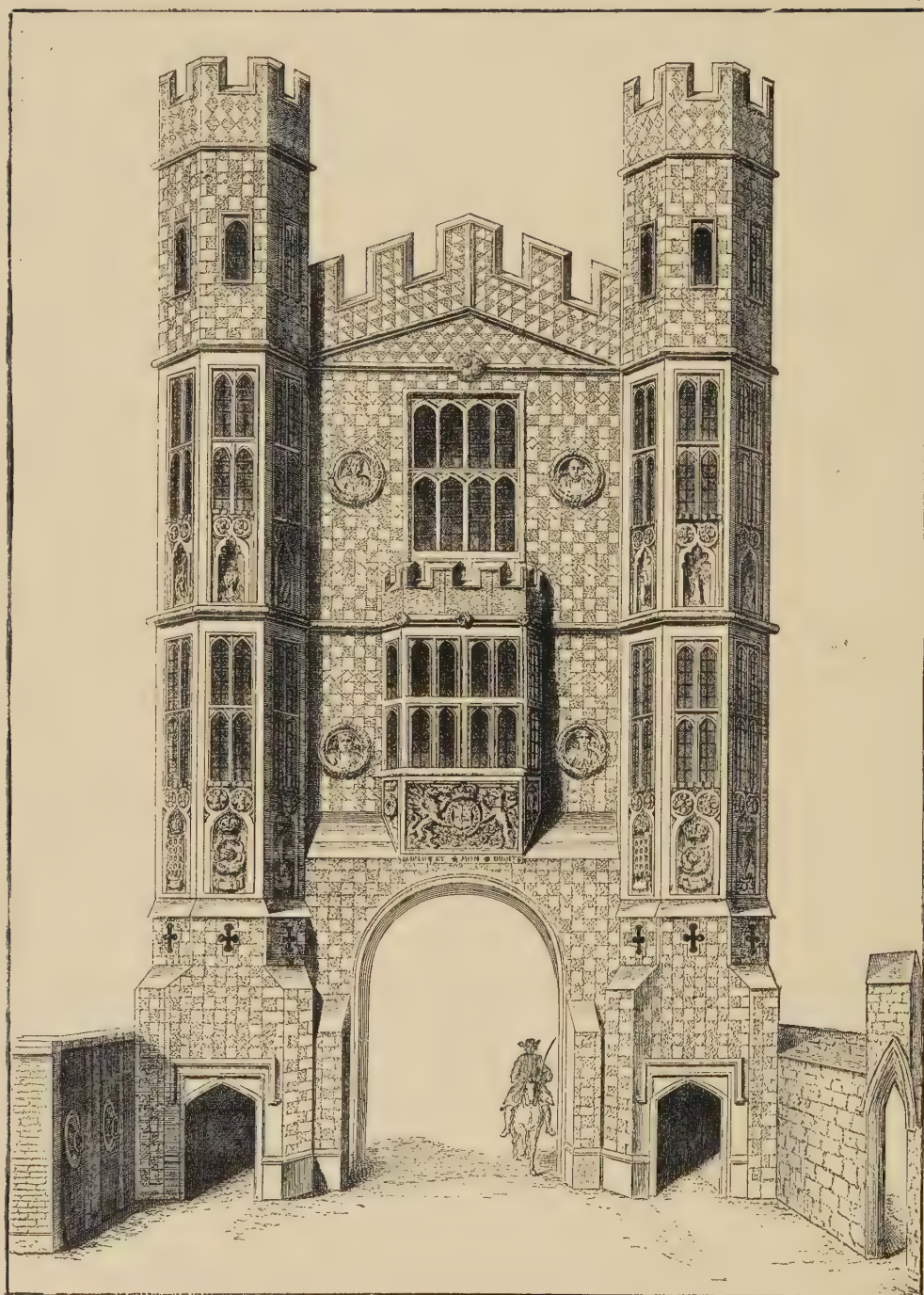
Banqueting Hall, Holbein's Gate, and Treasury. From the Engraving by J. SILVESTRE, 1640.

to quote it nearly whole, but recommend the reader who is not interested in such things to skip on. No more quotations of the kind occur in this little book, but some readers may find the numerous landmarks enumerated worth making a note of, as most of them have long been obliterated:—

“To all Christ’s faithful people to whom this present writing indented shall come: John Aslyp, abbot of the monastery of St. Peter, Westminster, and the Prior and Convent of the same monastery, Greeting in the Lord everlasting: Know ye that we, the aforesaid Abbot, Prior, and Convent, with the unanimous assent, consent, and will of our whole Chapter, in our full Chapter assembled, have given, granted, and by this our present charter indented, confirmed to Sir Robert Norwich, Knight, our Lord the King’s Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Richard Lyster, Knight, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir William Pawlett, Knight, Thomas Audeley, serjeant-at-law of the Lord the King, and Baldwin Malet, solicitor of the Lord the King: a certain great messuage or tenement commonly called Pety Caley’s, and all messuages, houses, barns, stables, dove-houses, orchards, gardens, ponds, fisheries, waters, ditches, lands, meadows, and pastures, with all and singular their appurtenances in any manner belonging to the said great messuage or tenement called Pety Calais, or to the same messuage adjoining, or with the same messuage heretofore to farm, let, or occupied; situate, lying, and being within the said town of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex. And also all those messuages, cottages, tenements, and gardens situate, lying, and being on the east side of the street, commonly called the Kynge’s Strete, within the said town of Westminster, in the aforesaid county of Middlesex, extending from a certain alley or lane, there called Lamb Alley, otherwise called Lamb Lane, unto the bars situate in the aforesaid Kings Street, near the manor of the Lord the King there, called York Place. And also all other messuages, cottages, tenements, gardens, lands, and water, late in the tenure of John Henburye, situate, lying, and being on the said east side of the highway aforesaid, leading from a certain croft or piece of land commonly called Scotlande, to the Chapel of St. Mary de Rouncedevall, near the cross called Charyng Crosse. And

also all those messuages, cottages, tenements, gardens, lands, and wastes, lying and being on the west side of the aforesaid street, called the Kynges Strete, extending from a certain great messuage or brewhouse, commonly called the Axe, along the aforesaid west side, unto and beyond the said cross called Charyng Crosse. And also all other lands, tenements, and wastes, lying on the south side of the highway leading from the aforesaid cross called Charyng Crosse, unto the hospital of St. James in the Field. And also all those other lands and meadows lying near and between lands lately belonging to the aforesaid hospital of St. James on the south side of the said hospital, and so from the aforesaid hospital on the south side of the highway extending towards the west unto the cross called Cycrosse, and turning from the same cross extending towards the south by the highway leading towards the town of Westminster, unto the stone bridge called Eybridge, and from thence along the aforesaid highway leading towards and to the aforesaid town of Westminster, unto the south side of the land there called Rosamundis, and so from thence along the aforesaid south part of the aforesaid land called Rosamundis, towards the east, directly unto the land, late parcel of the aforesaid great messuage or tenement called Pety Calais, and to the same great messuage or tenement belonging, containing in the whole by estimation, eighty acres of land more or less, and one close late in the tenure of John Pomfrett, now deceased, containing by estimation twenty-two acres of land, lying in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the aforesaid county of Middlesex, except always and so as the aforesaid Abbot, Prior, and Convent, our successors and assigns, wholly reserved as well as the aqueduct coming and running to our aforesaid monastery."

Had Henry foreseen the course which his policy of confiscation would lead him into, he might have waited till 1539, when all the monastic estates became his. However, there is much to interest us in this strange document. We see that when Henry had annexed Whitehall to Westminster in such a way as to call the two by the same name—that is, "our palace of Westminster;" and when he had annexed the whole expanse of St. James's Park to both, and had made of St. James's a kind of lodge to Whitehall—when from St. James's



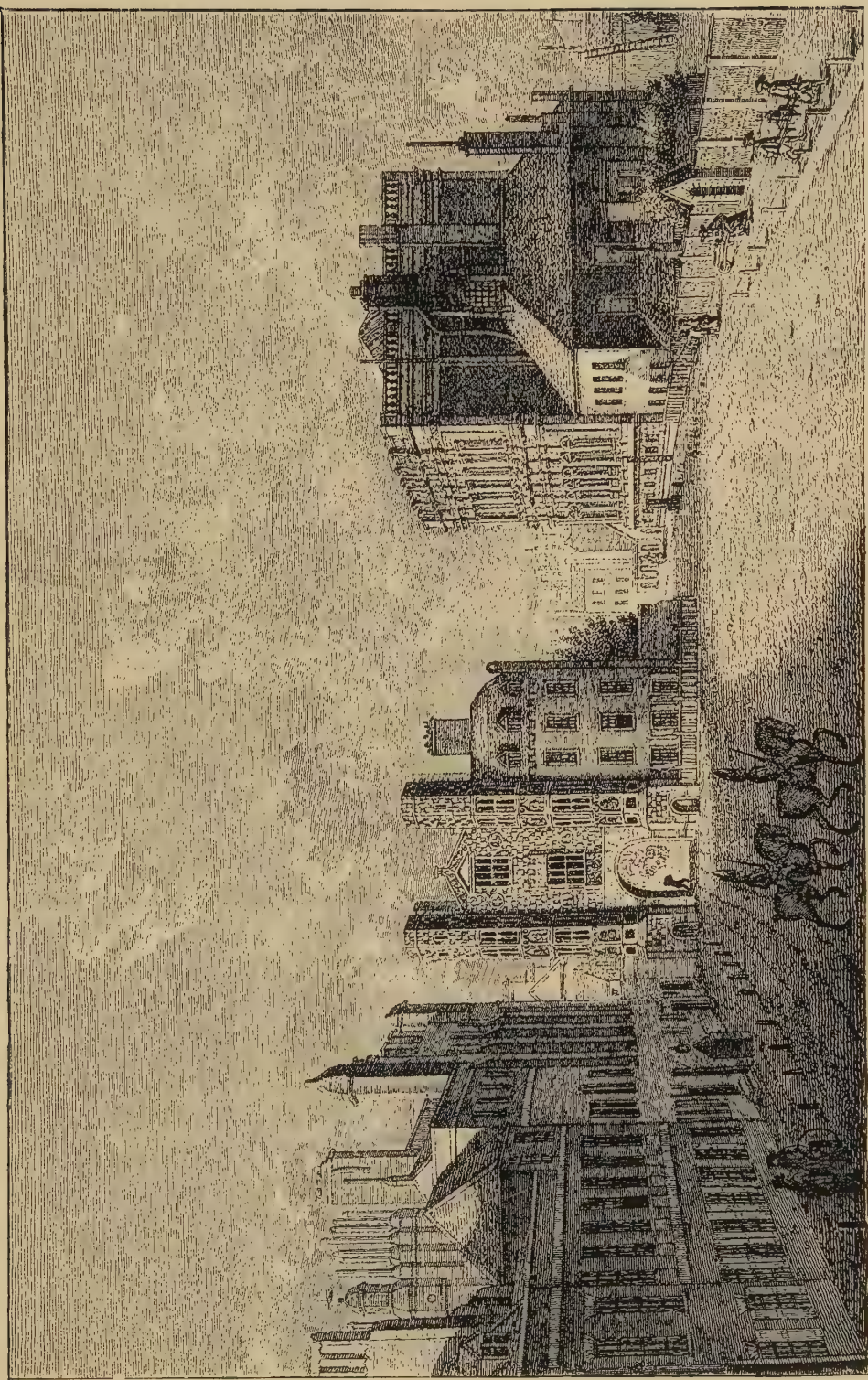
Holbein's Gate. From the Engraving by G. VERTUE, 1725.

he could look up the green hills towards Hyde Park, which he had also taken from the Abbot of Westminster, and beyond that again towards Hampstead Hill—the intervening country being all open and void—he took special leave from a subservient Parliament to make the whole into “an honour.” “Forasmuch as the King’s most royal Majesty is most desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, pheasant, and heron preserved in and about his honour at his palace of Westminster, for his own disport and pastime to St. Giles’s in the Fields, to our Lady of the Oak, to Highgate; to Hornsey Park; to Hampstead Heath; and from thence to his said palace of Westminster, to be preserved and kept for his own disport, pleasure and recreation; his highness therefore straightly chargeth and commandeth all and singular his subjects, of what estate, degree or condition soever they be, that they, nor any of them, do presume or attempt to hunt, or to hawk, or in any means to take, or kill, any of the said games, within the precincts aforesaid, as they tender his favour and will eschew the imprisonment of their bodies, and further punishment, at his Majesties will and pleasure.”

Henry spent considerable sums of money in making an orchard, probably where the so-called Whitehall Gardens are now. Two thousand five hundred loads of stone were used in this work and in enclosing St. James’s Park. But the only additions to Wolsey’s building seem to have been a long gallery which ran northward towards Charing Cross; there was also a passage, but of what kind we do not know, “through a certain ground named Scotland.”

There are numerous engravings extant of the northern gateway. It was in the most florid taste of the day. Perhaps we can best realise its appearance by a visit to Hampton Court. The great gate there is made of ornamental brickwork and decorated with terracotta statues or busts. Thomas Sandby’s drawing shows the view from King Street very well. On our left are the buildings of the Treasury. To the right beyond the gate is the Banqueting House. Apparently when this view was taken the gate had become wholly detached from what remained of the palace after the fire of 1697. Wilkinson’s view (I. 143), from a drawing by Hollar, taken in the early part of the reign of Charles I., shows a line of four gables

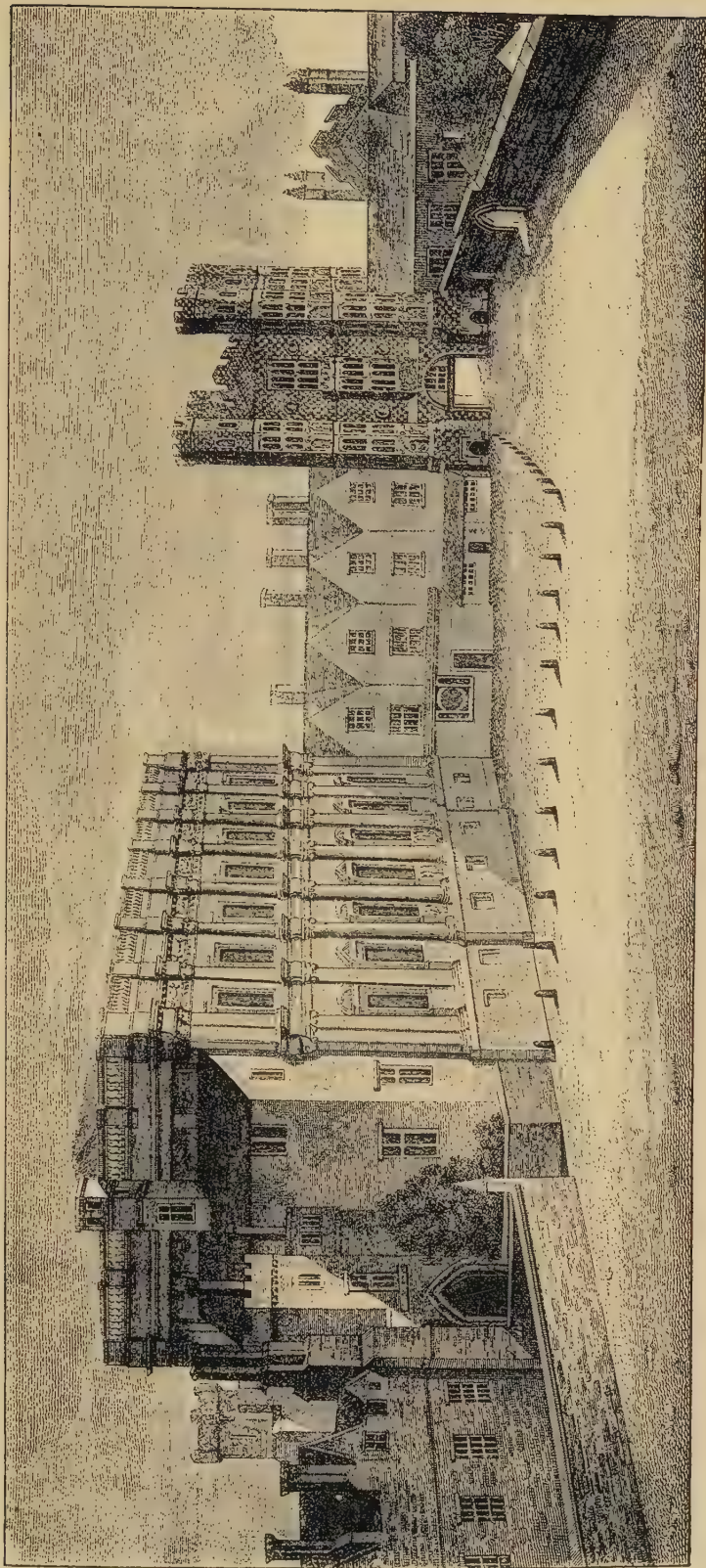
connecting the gate and the Banqueting House, and we know that a gallery or passage led from the park, through the first floor of the gate to the palace. By this circuitous route it was that Charles reached the place of his death. In Hollar's view the arch of the gate contains a flat ceiling and a window, which greatly spoils its appearance. At the park end of the passage there was a staircase. Adjoining this end of the passage, and very near where Downing Street stands now, was a tilt-yard, and close to it a small barrack for the Foot Guards. Beyond it, further to the north, was the yard of the Horse Guards, very much as it is still. Behind the spot where James I. built the Banqueting House, to the eastward, was the court, a very irregular space, divided by a passage passing over an archway. This passage led to the great hall and the chapel, which last was close to the river's bank. The King's lodgings also looked on the Thames, but between them and the chapel there was a labyrinth of small chambers and sets of chambers. To the westward of these small and inconvenient apartments, some of which were appropriated for the Queen and her maids of honour, was the great Stone Gallery, which looked on the garden and the bowling-green. How far these arrangements were due to Cardinal Wolsey and how far to Henry VIII. we cannot say. Undoubtedly, the whole palace was most inconvenient, even at that day, when men's ideas of comfort were so different from ours. There was not, if we except the so-called Great Hall, a very small building compared with that of Hampton Court, a single large or handsome chamber in the whole place. Room was, however, found for a library, and Paul Hentzner mentions it with praise. In it he saw a book in French written by the Princess, afterwards Queen, Elizabeth, with her own hand, and inscribed to her father: *Elizabeth sa très humble fille rend salut et obédience*. "All these books," continues Hentzner, "are bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; some have pearls and precious stones set in their bindings." There are probably a few representatives of this library among the books which belonged to Henry VIII., and have his name or arms, in the British Museum. Hentzner also notices the furniture of inlaid woods, some stained glass representing the Passion, and a gallery of



Whitehall, from King Street. From a Drawing by T. Sandby, R.A. Engraved by R. Godfrey, 1775.

portraits and other pictures. He visited Whitehall in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the place must have been very much as it was left by Henry VIII. He mentions, among other things, the Queen's bed, "ingeniously composed of woods of different colours, with quilts of silk, velvet, gold, silver, and embroidery." Among the portraits is one, the description of which puzzles me: "A picture of King Edward VI., representing at first sight something quite deformed, till by looking through a small hole in the cover, which is put over it, you see it in its true proportions." Can this have been a device of the same sort as the distorted skull in Holbein's picture of "The Ambassadors" in the National Gallery?

Henry VIII. continued to date documents of all kinds at "Westminster," meaning Whitehall. It is possible that St. James's was similarly included in Westminster. In or about 1537 the King's house there was greatly improved and beautified, it is said by Cromwell, in anticipation of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. The initials "H. A." on some of the fireplaces and ceilings were probably put up in allusion to the same marriage, and have nothing to do with Anne Boleyn. It was intended that Henry and Anne (of Cleves) should pass their honeymoon at this remote corner of the park as it was then, there being no buildings whatever visible from the gate. The result we all know; and Henry, long before the honeymoon had waned, was back at "Westminster." Events travelled rapidly in those days. Anne Boleyn was beheaded in May, 1536. In the same month Henry was married to Jane Seymour. She died in October, 1537. In January, 1539, Henry married Anne of Cleves, and divorced her in July. In April following Cromwell became Earl of Essex, and was beheaded in July of the same year. No doubt Whitehall was the principal scene of the long tragedy indicated by this dry list of dates. At "Westminster" Henry conferred a peerage on Cromwell's son, Gregory; and there, too, he issued letters of naturalisation to the Lady Anne of Cleves, and gave her several manors. One more tragedy and we have done with Henry VIII. On a day unknown, in January, 1547, the King lay dying at Whitehall. So weak had he become that he was obliged to leave it to others to execute his cruel and relentless orders. He



Whitehall. . . From an Engraving after a Drawing by HOLLAR in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge.

died at Whitehall on the 28th, the last act of his life having been to send the poet Surrey to the scaffold, and to prepare a similar fate for Surrey's father, the Duke of Norfolk. The Duke being a peer, the process for obtaining an act of attainder was slower. A commission had been issued by the tyrant to Wriothesley, St. John, Russell, and Hertford to give the King's consent to the Bill. But death stepped in and the Duke's life was saved.

Sandford gives a very circumstantial account of the funeral ceremonies at the burial of Henry VIII. It is chiefly interesting because he names several apartments of Whitehall Palace. At first the body lay in the King's private chamber, and there received some embalming treatment, and was wrapped in lead. The chapel, the cloister, the hall, and the King's chamber were all hung with black. On the 2nd of February the coffin was taken into the chapel. We read of cloth of gold and a pall of tissue. The altar was covered with velvet, adorned with scutcheons of the Royal arms. Twelve lords, mourners, sat or knelt within the rail. Watchers likewise took turns of duty, and, as the people passed by, a herald cried to them, saying, "You shall of your charity pray for the soul of the most famous prince, King Henry VIII., our late most gracious king and master." The body was not to lie in the sumptuous but despoiled chapel Henry had raised for his father and mother. On the 14th of February the wax effigy was ready, and a procession, which Sandford says was four miles long, started for Windsor. Henry had desired to be buried beside Jane Seymour. Syon was reached the first night, and the journey was ended at one o'clock the next day.

There is nothing to connect Edward VI. with Whitehall during his short reign. But Mary, his successor, was constantly there. She is said to have preferred St. James's, and the first separate mention we have of it in a State paper is in December, 1556. She died there in November, 1558.

Elizabeth made much use of Whitehall, but her buildings and improvements at Windsor must have proved a powerful attraction. She went about a good deal, and her State papers are signed in a great variety of places. She left no mark on Whitehall, although, at the very end of her reign, instead of Henry the Eighth's "palace

of Westminster," we have "Whitehall," pure and simple, one or twice. We have seen how York Place became the Palace of Westminster. How it again changed its name, and became Whitehall, we do not know. The change seems to have been made by Elizabeth shortly before her death, and the name may have already been in popular use. After her death, at Richmond, in March, 1603, her body lay in state at Whitehall, and was buried in the Chapel of Henry VII.

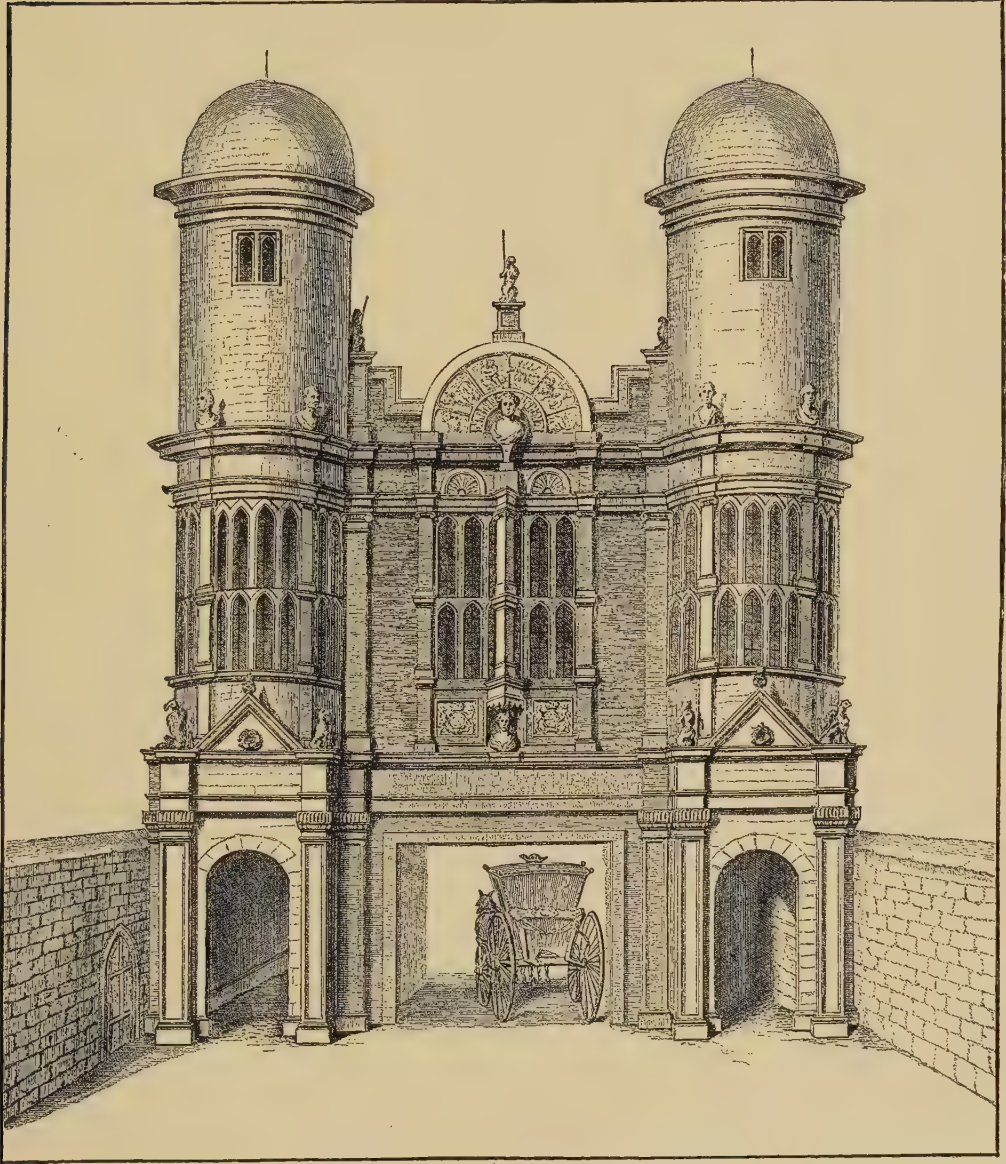
With the Stuarts we have a new epoch in the history of Whitehall.

CHAPTER II

Accession of the Stuarts—Wallingford House—Henry, Prince of Wales—Masks at Court—Inigo Jones—The Banqueting House—The Great Design of 1619.

THE accession of the Stuarts marks a new epoch in the history of Whitehall. In spite of edicts against building, Charing Cross had become a populous place, and one of James's first acts had been to build new stabling and a barn in the Mews on the site now occupied by Trafalgar Square. North-east of Whitehall, the Strand had become a continuous street, which ended with what we remember as Northumberland House, then called Northampton House, and subsequently Suffolk House. South of the palace, King Street had also been completed, and in a house there Edmund Spenser, the poet, died "for lake of bread," as Ben Jonson reports. He "refused 20 pieces sent to him by my lord of Essex, and said he was sorrie he had no time to spend them." East of King Street, where now we see Mr. Norman Shaw's fine police office and Richmond Terrace, were green fields and gardens sloping to the Thames. The curious old Gothic gate made an entrance to King Street, and stood just at right angles to where we see the chief entrance to the Foreign and India Offices. The Palace garden, with its sun-dial lawn, was separated from the King Street slopes by the Bowling Green, where is now the house of the Duke of Buccleuch. On the other side of the roadway of Whitehall, beyond, that is to the northward of, the Tilt Yard and Horse Guards, Sir William Knollys, who was Treasurer of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, built himself a house to be near the Court. James I. made him a peer, as Lord Knollys, in 1603. In 1616 he became Viscount Wallingford, and his house long bore this name. Ten years later he was advanced to the earldom of Banbury,

and died in 1632. There were complications as to his marriage, in 1606, with Lady Elizabeth Howard, and his titles have been claimed



The King Street Gate. From the Engraving by G. VERTUE, 1725.

unsuccessfully, at intervals ever since, by his reputed descendants. We shall have more to say about Wallingford House presently.

The new King must have looked on Whitehall as but a poor lodging. The Queen had Somerset House, between the Strand and the Thames, for her separate residence, and the Prince of Wales had St. James's. To be more accurate, we may quote Mr. Sheppard to the effect that, though St. James's was granted to Prince Henry the year after the King's accession, he did not go into residence there for six years. Two years later he died. It is worth while to go into these things, because, among the four hundred persons and personages who composed the Prince's train, was a "surveyor," or, as we should say, an architect, named Inigo Jones, reputed to be a great traveller, but more in vogue at Court as a "devyser of maskes." He had three shillings a day for his pay, and the Prince gave him as much as thirty pounds on one occasion (which, as Cunningham, his biographer, remarks, was equal to one hundred and twenty pounds of our money), and sixteen pounds on another. When the Prince died, Jones, who had a promise of the Royal Surveyorship at the next vacancy, went to Italy, no doubt to study, having probably saved something during his two years at St. James's.

There are many notices of masks performed before the King's Majesty at Whitehall in the early years of the new dynasty. These plays took place in the Hall, which, as we have seen, was near the Chapel in the eastern part of the palace. It must have been small and inconvenient for such purposes, but Inigo, who on many occasions is mentioned as having looked after the arrangements, was fertile in resource, and made the most of the space at his disposal. He was destined to furnish the palace with an adequate hall, which is now the sole relic of the old royal residence existing. It is quite worth while to quote (from Cunningham) Jones's account of one of these plays. It was written by Chapman, and was acted by the gentlemen of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn at the time of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Palsgrave, afterwards King of Bohemia. First, a procession started from the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, and rode on horseback along the Strand, past Charing Cross, to the Tilt Yard at Whitehall, where they made one turn before the King, and then dismounted. The performance took place in the Hall. It is described as having for scenery an artificial

rock, nearly as high as the roof. The rock was honeycombed with caves, and there were two winding stairs. The rock turned a golden colour, and "was run quite through with veins of gold." On one side was a silver edifice labelled in Latin, "The Temple of Honour" (*Honoris Fanum*). There were various allusive devices, and after Plutus, the God of Riches, had made a speech, the rock split in pieces with a great crack, and Capriccio stepped out to make his speech while the broken rock vanished. Next appeared a cloud. Then a gold mine, in which the twelve masquers were triumphantly seated. Over the gold mine was an evening sky, and the red sun was seen to set. There were white cliffs in the background, and from them rose a bank of clouds, which hid everything. The mask cost Lincoln's Inn alone more than a thousand pounds. Of course, scenery of the kind described must have been extremely costly, the designer having neither the appliances nor the skilled workmen who carry out such marvellous scenic effects in our modern theatres.

One more example of Inigo's powers as a "devyser" may be quoted from Cunningham. In 1611, in January, the Prince, then nearly at the end of his short life, presented a mask at Court, that is, at Whitehall. It was written by Ben Jonson, and called "Oberon, the Fairy Prince." It cost 289*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* for mercery, 298*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* for silk, and 143*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for tailor's work; in all, the Prince had to pay 1092*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* The interest of these details lies in the fact that it was by making stage scenery that Inigo Jones was taught how to extract the greatest amount of effect from the smallest amount of material or means. It let him into the secret of proportion, and the marvellous amount of influence proportion alone, without ornament or expense, can be brought to exercise. Other men at that time also understood stage scenery, but stage scenery was to them nothing more. The information so gained fell on fertile soil in the mind of Inigo, and brought forth eventually those splendid architectural designs for which he can never be too much praised.

Inigo Jones carried the information and experience thus obtained with him on this his second visit to Italy. He enquired why such a building had such an effect. He made careful measurements, and compared and combined the figures so arrived at until he wrung the

secret of the old Roman builder from the ruins. Cunningham dwells at some length on this subject. There can be no doubt that, like Wren's, the genius of Jones consisted mainly in his extraordinary power of taking pains. Where one man was content to observe the completeness and harmony of some palace or church, Jones must find out to what cause that harmony was due. Thus he went about making measurements. For instance, he always carried a copy of the great work of Andrea Palladio with him wherever he went. On the fly-leaves he constantly wrote such notes as this :—"The length of the great court at Windsour is 350^{fo}, the breadth is 260; this I measured by paces the 5 of december, 1690. The great court at Theobalds is 159^{fo}, the second court is 110^{fo} square, the thirde court is 88^{fo}.—the 20 of June, 1621." The book is now at Worcester College, Oxford. One of his notes is very curious as showing his subtle analysis of proportion. He had a great admiration for the Temple of Jupiter at Rome, and set seriously to work to find out the reason for its satisfactory effect. In the result he came to the conclusion that its design was based on a series of circles, and that its proportions were fixed by dividing the largest diameter into six parts, and then recombining them. In June, 1639, he noted of this temple that it had just been destroyed by the Pope's permission for the sake of the marble built into the walls. The Bishops of London have here ancient precedent for their treatment of Wren's City churches, and what Inigo would have thought of some recent doings may be gathered from the next two notes :—"This was the noblest thing which was in Rome in my time. So as all the good of the ancients will be ruined ere long."

On the 1st of October, 1615, he was put in possession of the office of Surveyor to the King, which had been promised him before he left England. His predecessor, Simon Basil, had died in that year, and we cannot doubt that he immediately commenced the series of designs by which it was intended to transform the shabby rabbit-warren, that, as we have seen, the so-called Palace of Whitehall had become. Otherwise, it is impossible to believe that when, in 1619, the old hall of which I have so often spoken, was destroyed by fire, he was ready within six months to begin the building of the

Banqueting House. We must remember that this house, which is so familiar to all Londoners, was part of a design intended to cover a space of 1152 feet by 874. It was expected to rival the great palaces of the continental kings. The Vatican may be said to have been completed in 1588, and the smaller palace of the Lateran in 1586. At that time the largest of these palaces was the Escorial in Spain, which had been completed late in the previous century. The front is more than 680 feet in length. Versailles had not been begun, and neither had the largest of all, the palace of Mafra, on the west coast of Portugal, not far from Lisbon.

Mafra is 760 feet in width, east and west. It forms at the present day a conspicuous, but not beautiful, object from the deck of the passing steamer, but is seldom visited, as it has nothing except its vast size to recommend it. But the palace of Whitehall was designed by Inigo Jones to be both larger than any other, and also so beautiful that even the little fragment with which we are familiar has challenged the admiration of every one who has any architectural taste for more than two hundred and fifty years.

When the fire in Whitehall Palace took place, it did not require that the King should summon Jones to repair the damage. Any work of that kind was part of his daily round: but two interesting points should be mentioned here. Inigo made no attempt to restore the burnt building, nor did he undertake, as a modern architect would have done, to make a new hall, and persuade his employers that it was exactly as Cardinal Wolsey had left it. On the contrary, he offered the King plans of which the Banqueting House was but a small part. Evidently he had carefully examined the site, and found that there was ample room for a building on the greatest possible scale. The palace as it then was, reached from the very bank of the Thames to the roadway of Whitehall; and, on the western side, looking into the park, there was a kind of village of buildings attached to the palace more or less slightly. The whole space available was about 4000 feet from north to south, and 1300 from east to west. On the side of the park the space was practically inexhaustible; the King could take as much as he pleased in that direction. We shall give some description of the whole design

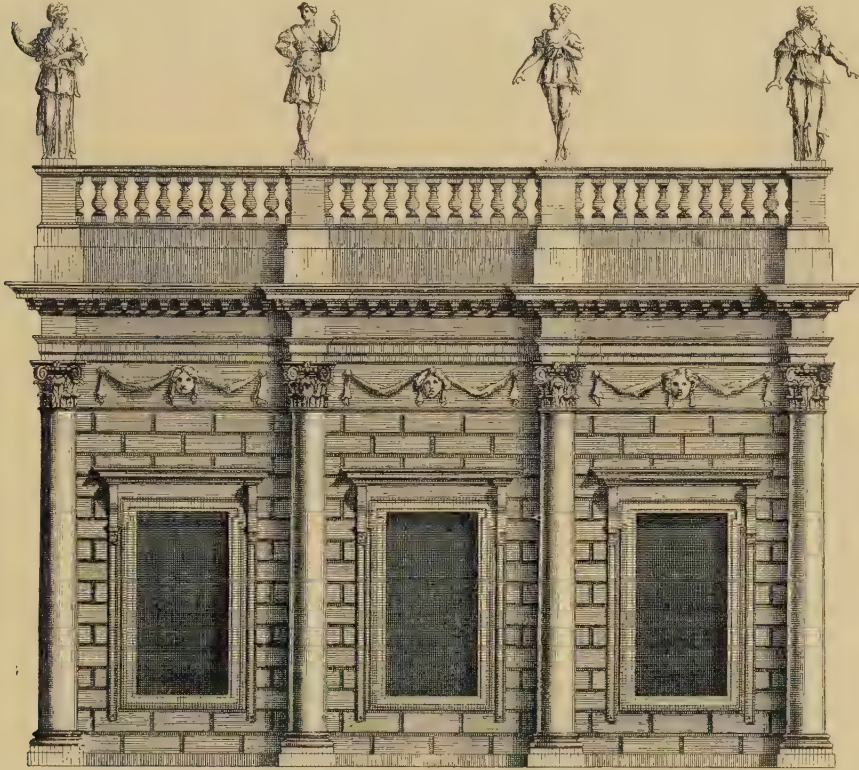
presently. Jones within six months was ready to begin upon his new Banqueting House, and on the 1st of June, 1619, the first stone was laid, the architect having submitted a model to the King. The building was finished at the end of March, 1622, the expenditure having been 14,940*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* It is remarkable that the account was



Detail of Banqueting House. From KENT'S "Inigo Jones."

not finally settled until long after the death of King James, namely, in 1633. It may be well here to give the technical account of the new building, probably written by Jones himself. It was described as 110 feet in length, and 55 in width within. The wall of the foundation is 14 feet in thickness. The first storey to the height of 16 feet was of Oxfordshire stone, rusticated on the outside and bricked on the inside. The Banqueting Hall was 55 feet in height to the roof, the walls being 5 feet thick, made of Northamptonshire stone, with two orders of columns and pilasters, the lower Ionic and

the higher Composite, with their architrave, frieze, cornice, and other ornaments of the kind ; also rails and “balustres” round about the top of the building, all of Portland stone, with fourteen windows on each side ; one great window at the upper end, and five doors of stone



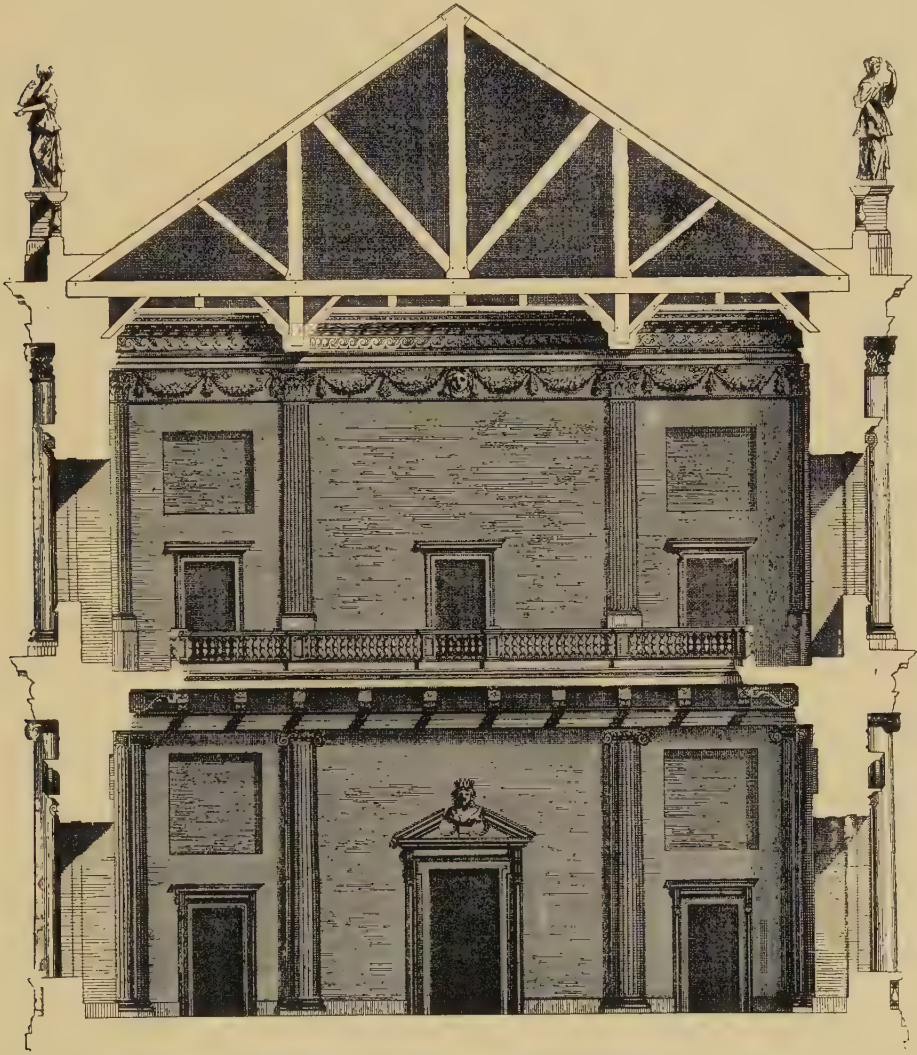
Detail of Banqueting House. From KENT's "Inigo Jones."

with frontispieces and cartouches ; the inside brought up with brick, finished over with two orders of columns and pilasters, part of stone and part of brick, with their architectural frieze and cornice, with a gallery upon the two sides, and the lower end borne upon great cartouches of timber carved, with rails and “balustres” of timber, and the floor laid with spruce deals ; a strong timber roof covered with lead, and under it a ceiling divided into a fret made of great cornices enriched with carving ; with painting, glazing, &c. The master-mason was the famous Nicholas Stone, who sculptured the water-gate at the

foot of Buckingham Street, and to whom Cunningham attributes the monument of Sir Francis Vere in Westminster Abbey. If the beautiful wreaths and the capitals of the pilasters are still as he left them, they show exactly that kind of reticence which is one of the most charming characteristics of really high art. Inigo was too good an architect to leave anything like this to a workman in whom he could not thoroughly confide, but it is evident that what Gibbons did for Wren, Stone did for Jones.

It will have been perceived that the proportions of the interior were those which all but the modern anomalous architects have found to be the best. The room is formed of a double cube, the height being equal to the width, and the length double the height. A gallery was supported on engaged columns of the Ionic order. An upper order was of Corinthian pilasters. The roof was flat and divided into nine compartments, with very handsome mouldings between. The central compartment was oval, and contained Rubens's principal picture of the "Apotheosis of James I." This beautiful chamber was never designed for a chapel. We shall have occasion to describe further on what Jones designed for that purpose. It is reported that Rubens was assisted in these pictures by Jordaens. He received three thousand pounds for them, and they have been cleaned and restored several times at considerable expense. The figures are colossal, the children being more than nine feet high. The Banqueting House, though never consecrated, was made a Royal Chapel in 1724. Two years ago it was handed over to the United Service Institution, who have added to the south side a building which, in my opinion, forms a serious eyesore. It is curious that with all the wealth of design left by Inigo Jones, and ready to the hands of the Institution, they could not find something better than that by which they have disfigured every view of the Banqueting House. A great French architect named Azout, who visited England about 1685, is said to have declared that this "was the most finished of the modern buildings on this side the Alps." To a sincere lover of beauty in architecture, this opinion will commend itself. It is sometimes said that the famous cartoons of Raphael were brought to England as designs for the tapestry for the Banqueting House.

After the death of King Charles, they were sold, and were purchased by the Spanish Ambassador, Alonso de Cardanas. This is likely enough, as also that he sent them into Spain. Some hangings, said



Section of the Banqueting House. From KENT's "Inigo Jones."

to be the same, but of this there could be no proof, were brought to London and exhibited at the Egyptian Hall, in Piccadilly, in 1825. They represented passages in the Acts of the Apostles.

What became of them we do not know. I have only seen them mentioned in Tymms's account of Whitehall in the second volume of Britton's *Edifices*.

A curious question arises, which is not very easily answered: Where would this building have stood in the complete palace? The visitor entering the great court would have found three other buildings resembling this one. Two were to be at the northern end on either side, and two more at the southern end. Connecting them were two buildings of much greater beauty and of large size, the whole court being no less than 378 feet wide and 728 feet long. If, as Fergusson and others have asserted, the Banqueting House was at the north-eastern corner, it would be on the visitor's left, while a chapel would have been on his right. At the centre of the façade on the right was the entrance to the royal apartments, which were thus arranged to be on the western side and to look out on the park, to the south of the Treasury. On the opposite side of the great court access was to be obtained to a noble hall, suitable for state occasions, and, in fact, the buildings on this side, which were to look on the river, were of a public character as distinguished from the private apartments of the King and the royal family. If, as seems probable, the Banqueting House stood at the north-east corner, and if we look at the plan of Whitehall which George Vertue engraved for the Society of Antiquaries, we find that Inigo's building is nearly in the middle of the palace. If we measure 728 feet to the southward, it takes us all that distance towards Westminster, and overwhelms in building-stone the whole of the Privy Garden and part of the Bowling Green. All the great ranges of buildings to the northward—the kitchen court, the wood-yard, the small beer-buttery, and the two Scotland Yards—would have had to go. We can but conjecture that Inigo wished to have a grand open space before his Charing Cross façade—what the French call a “*place d'armes*.” On the Westminster side there could not have been much space beyond the Bowling Green. The park, of course, was open, and so was the river. Much thought accordingly was spent on these fronts, and perhaps that to the Thames shows Jones at his very best. No description can do it any kind of justice; but it may be worth while



J. B. Duross, pinx.

Tom. Green.

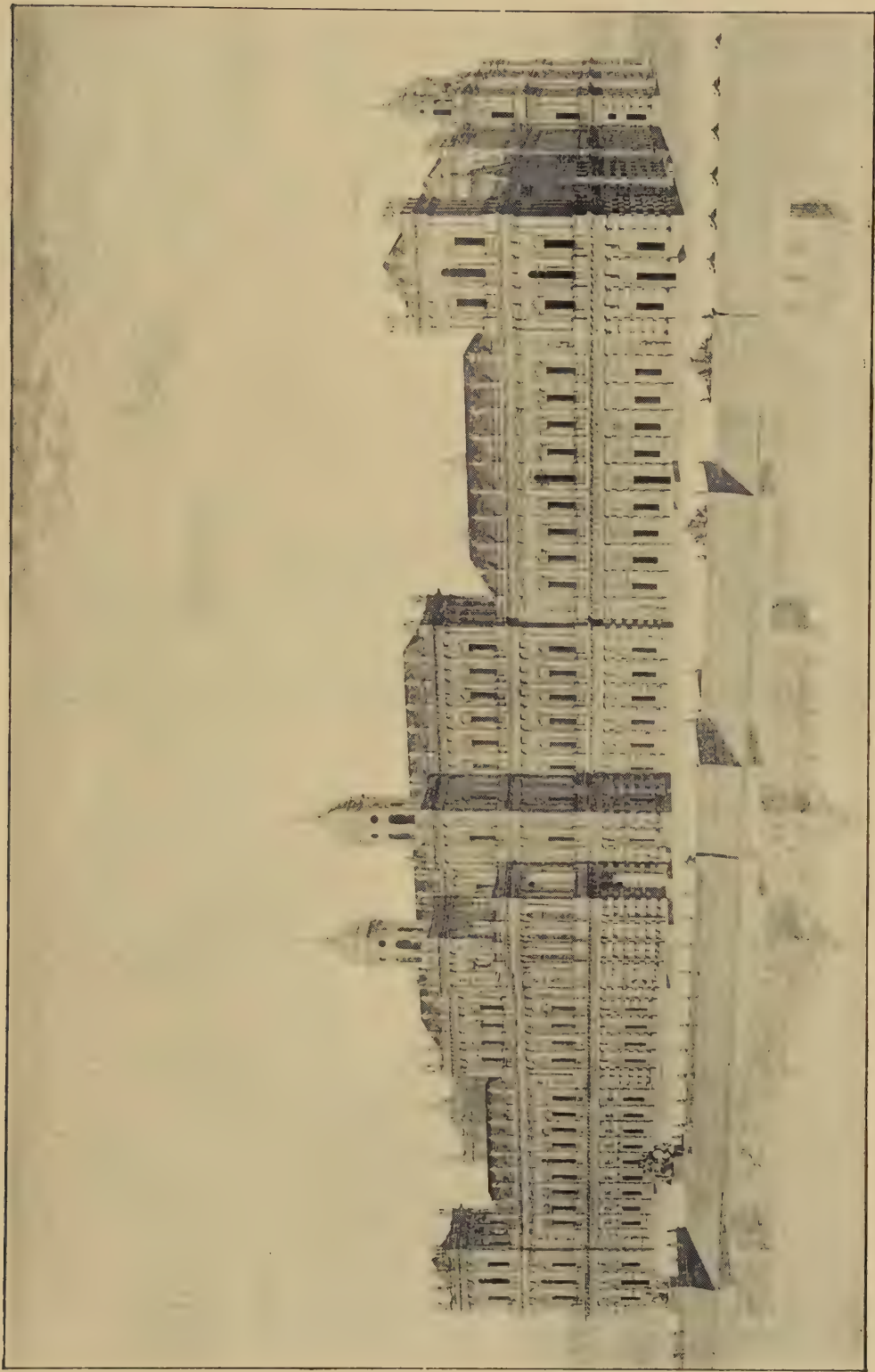
Apotheosis of James I.

to mention the principal points. The centre was of three storeys, the lowest with rusticated pilasters. The next storey has features common to much of the design, but two flanking buildings only two storeys high are marked by a studied plainness, flat pilasters being between the windows. At either end of the front we find three-storey pavilions—we can hardly call them towers. They, like the centre, have engaged columns standing well out. The most beautiful thing on this front is a projecting portico in the centre, three arches wide and one deep. This beautiful balcony—the most elegant little bit in the whole design—is of the Corinthian order, two storeys high, the lower rusticated, and on a balustrade above are the statues with which Inigo always liked to relieve his sky-line.

The Westminster side had an archway “for the street of Whitehall” and the right of way. It is open through the ground storey and an entresol, and is flanked by two massive towers of four storeys, crowned by small cupolas.

The Charing Cross front being to the north was kept studiously plain. It was not until our own day that an architect put lavish decorations on that side of a building. Wren knew as well as Jones that mass, not ornament, is appropriate to this aspect, and we used to be able to admire his taste in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, now altered. The delicate proportions, the fine central archway, and the arcade at the western end of the façade, make up a very pleasing composition, and, viewed across a wide parade-ground, would have produced a marvellously picturesque effect.

On the King’s side—that is, to the westward of the street—was to be a circular court, which most architectural critics have highly praised. It has always been known as the Persian Court. Caryatides, we may remark, are female figures, Persians male. It consisted of a kind of circular corridor, two storeys high. Kent gives several views with sections of this Persian Court. Instead of pillars or pilasters were Caryatides in the upper range, and Persians in the lower. Those in the lower range had Tuscan capitals above their heads; those in the upper had Composite or Corinthian capitals. Here Inigo departed from his usual rule, and covered the wall with the most elaborate ornament. The court looks very well in Müller’s bird’s-eye view, but



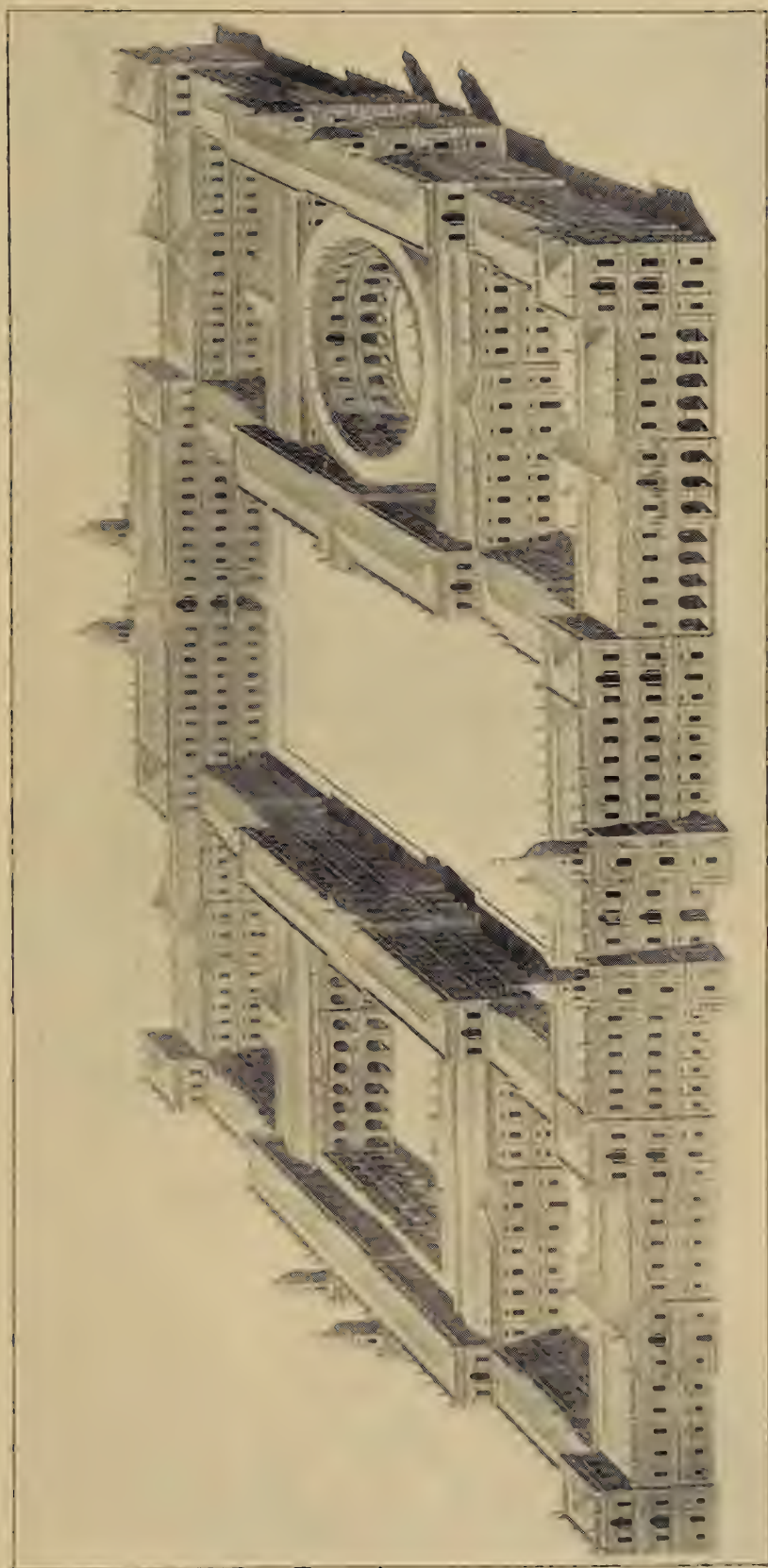
First Design by INIGO JONES for the Rebuilding of Whitehall. Waterside Front. From Müller.

not so well in Kent's elevations and sections. The plan shows that the circular corridor would have formed a most convenient passage connecting the King's and Queen's private apartments with those of their attendants. Two wide square courts were to north and south.

The other wing, so called, of the palace had also three courts, the interior architecture of which we may judge of by looking at the back, or east, side of the Banqueting House, which was built to form part of the north-eastern court on one side, and to look on the street of Whitehall on the other. The Chapel was to have corresponded in the north-western corner. Jones left elaborate plans for this building, and a section in Kent is one of the most beautiful things in a beautiful book. It was a double cube, of course, but the roof was vaulted, or, at least, coved. Elaborate symbolical carving and angelic figures are on the wall. The chapel has a narrow gallery above, and the order, which is Ionic, fluted, below, is Corinthian above. Wide-arched openings are in the view in Kent, but he does not show us what the other, or chancel, end was to be like. It may be worth noting that, like Wren, Jones was very free in his use of the orders, and it is not always possible in the prints to distinguish Corinthian from Composite; but, of course, where the lower storey was Ionic, the upper would not be Composite.

As to the merits of this design for a palace, critics have been very well agreed—except, unfortunately, during the madness of the supposed Gothic revival. Had Barry been desired to use, or adapt, Jones's design, or part of it, for the new Houses of Parliament, what a noble river-front we might have had! But it is useless to pursue such thoughts. The opportunity was lost, and, for certainly the past thirty years, there have been very few people in England who were really able to judge of the Houses of Parliament apart from their ornamentation. Inigo Jones's design would have been the better of any ornament that could have been bestowed on it, but ornament was not necessary. Marble columns and gilt capitals would have looked well, but plain stone would have been enough.

Fergusson well remarks that the greatest error in Jones's design for Whitehall was the vastness of its scale. It was as far beyond the means as beyond the wants of James I. It is not, he continues, in a

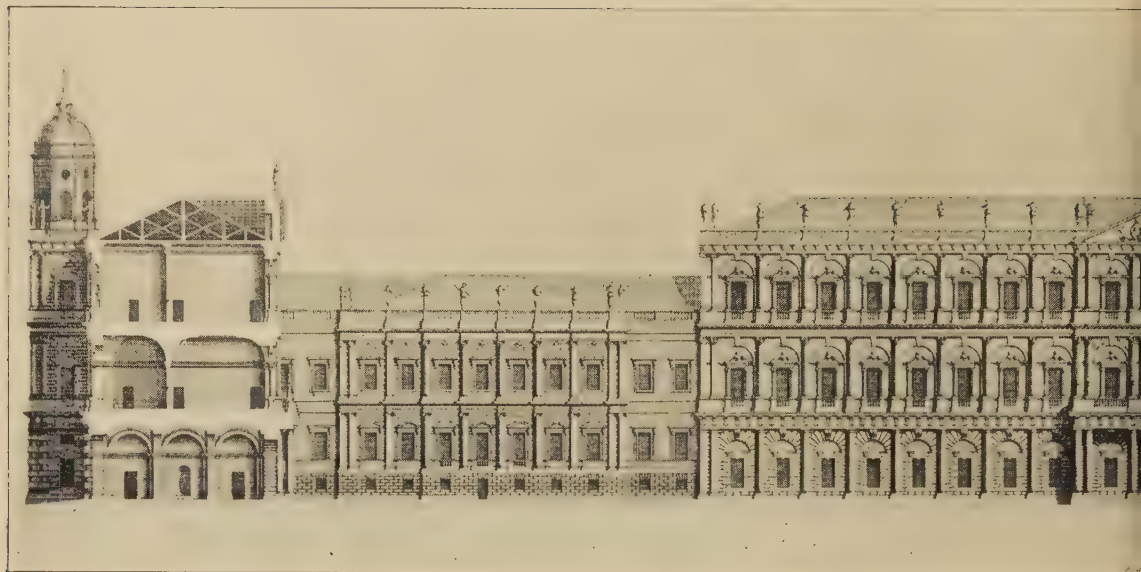


First Design by INIGO JONES for the Rebuilding of Whitehall. Bird's-eye View. From Müller.

long passage from which I only take a few sentences, so much in dimensions as in beauty of design that this proposal surpassed other European palaces. Externally, it would have surpassed the Louvre, Versailles, or any other building of the kind, "by the happy manner in which the angles are accentuated, by the boldness of the centre masses in each façade, and by the play of light and shade, and the variety of sky-line, which is obtained without ever interfering with the simplicity of the design or the harmony of the whole."

Sir William Chambers, the last of the Inigo Jones and Wren succession, speaks especially of the circular court described above. There are few nobler thoughts, he observes, in the remains of antiquity. The effect of the building, properly carried out, would have been surprising and great in the highest degree. The diameter of the court was to be 210 feet, the ground floor being an open arcade or cloister.

Jones wholly misapprehended the depth of the King's purse when he made a design of so costly a character. Otherwise, we must conclude that he made these beautiful drawings for his own pleasure—a kind of vision which he knew could never be realised. That this is not a correct statement of the case seems to be proved by what followed. Let us take the Banqueting House as a unit. It cost, roughly speaking, 20,000*l.*, of which sum 15,000*l.* was for the mere building. Three similar buildings in the same court would have cost at least 60,000*l.*, the chapel more than the rest. This foots up at once to 80,000*l.* The Persian Court could not have cost less than 50,000*l.* Add to this the two magnificent halls, and we have 80,000*l.* more. Yet we have only accounted for two of the seven courts, and have said nothing of the four fronts. We feel tempted to think that Inigo, like the person mentioned by Tennyson, built his soul "a lordly pleasure-house, wherein at ease for aye to dwell," and that he neither intended nor expected that King James should carry it out. That this is not the case we can judge by the design he made for Charles I. in 1639. It was to be of only half the dimensions, and was to be studiously plain. Whereas the Banqueting House was one of the plainest and least costly features of the 1619 design, it would appear in the



Part of the First Design by INIGO JONES for the Rebuilding



Part of the Second Design by INIGO JONES for the Rebuilding



of Whitehall, 1619. From KENT'S "Inigo Jones."



Whitehall, 1639. From CAMPBELL'S "Vitruvius Britannicus."

new view as one of the most elaborately ornamented. But he misjudged the purse of the son, as he had misjudged that of the father. Not a stone was ever laid, and when, a few years later, the war broke out, it was hopeless to think that Charles, though sorely in need of a commodious and really royal residence, could ever build, even after the new and modified design presented to him by his Surveyor.

The chief points of this design may be briefly indicated here, as the next chapter will be filled with matters of a very different character. The western front was to be towards the street of Whitehall; that is to say, the palace was to be less than half the size of that designed for James I. No archways were needed across the road. In the middle of this façade was a fine arch, opening between the Banqueting House toward the north and the Chapel, the corresponding building toward the south. The wall between was very simple, only containing three rows of square-headed windows. What would have been a beautiful and picturesque feature were the domed towers which formed the ends of the front, each containing a triple Venetian window. The side to the river was to have a kind of arcade or cloister; but the Persians and the Caryatides have disappeared, with most of the reception-rooms and public halls. This design was brought forward again after the fire in 1698; but William III. was too busy with the Continental war, and probably also too poor to do anything. It is worth more than a passing glance, and includes some of Jones's most matured work. Campbell obtained it in 1717 from an "ingenious gentleman," probably an architect, and possibly the architect whom William proposed to employ in rebuilding the palace. It will be found in the second volume of the *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

CHAPTER III

Accession of Charles I.—Unfavourable Omens—"The White King"—Henrietta Maria—Her French Followers—The Royal Pictures—Their Partial Sale—The King and Queen at Dinner—Death of Strafford and Laud—Charles at Westminster—Place of the Scaffold—Last Scene.

JAMES I. died in 1625, at Theobalds, having removed thither from Whitehall shortly before. His son Charles I. succeeded him, and for the first years of his reign lived in the old royal apartments on the Thames' bank. The omens observed at the time were all against the new King. Had his reign been prosperous we should have heard nothing about them. First of all, it was remarked that the breath was hardly out of King James's body when the Knight Marshal, in proclaiming his successor at the gate of Theobalds, made a bad blunder. He said Charles was the late King's rightful and *dubitable* heir. He meant to have said "indubitable." When the news came to Whitehall, Bishop Laud was in the middle of his sermon, for it was a Sunday, and broke off in order to let Charles be proclaimed, nor did he afterwards conclude, so that the new King and the congregation went away without a blessing. At the coronation, in February, 1626, it was similarly noticed that no procession through the City from the Tower to Westminster could take place, because the plague was raging. Several still more ominous accidents marked the day. The wing broke off the golden dove which formed part of the regalia. The Bishop of Carlisle, Richard Senhouse, by an inexcusable blunder, took for the text of his coronation sermon, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," from the Revelation. This was much remarked upon then and afterwards, and it is very possible that Charles alluded to the sermon in

the last words he ever uttered. But another circumstance was most remarked upon that dark February day in the gloom of the old Abbey. For some unexplained reason, Charles was dressed, not in purple, like the kings before him, but in white satin. Later on this gained for Charles the name of "The White King," and at his burial, in February, 1649, at Windsor, in a snow-storm, as the flakes fell upon the coffin, there were some present who remembered the omen of twenty-three years before. Finally, as if to crown all, that day was marked in the memories of many by a shock of earthquake.

There is little at first to connect Charles with Whitehall, but towards the end of the coronation year a curious scene took place there. The King, weary of the young Bishop and his twenty-nine priests who had come over with Henrietta Maria, decreed that they must return home. This they were very unwilling to do. With them were also to go an immense crew of attendants, whose vagaries disturbed both Whitehall and St. James's. They exceeded in numbers even the four hundred who had formed the household of Henry, prince of Wales. Contemporary letters are full of their arrogance and greed. With the French priests came a crowd of English Jesuits and the like, whose position, as the law stood then, was wholly illegal. The story that Henrietta Maria had to do penance at the instance of her French confessor, by going barefoot to Tyburn to glorify the memory of the Gunpowder Conspirators, rests on very slight evidence. One thing is certain: if she went, it was at the instance of one of the English priests. Even at the present day few Frenchmen know anything of English history thirty years old. It was, however, one thing to resolve, another actually to get rid of these intruders. At first the King wrote to Buckingham, who was then at Paris, to try to persuade the queen-mother of the necessity of the step he contemplated, and, moreover, to ask her to "find a means to make themselves suitors to be gone." Whether she complied or not, the Queen's servants were far too well off to think of moving. Marshal Bassompierre came over in order to arrange matters, but without avail. His report of a stormy interview with Charles is a mass of bombast. The King, coming to Whitehall, and entering the Queen's apartments to inform her that he must be obeyed—that he

had put the matter into the hands of that stern soldier, Lord Conway, who had arranged everything—found “a number of her domestics irreverently dancing and curvetting in her presence.” He took her by the hand, led her into an adjoining chamber, and locked himself in with her.

Meanwhile, Conway took the French Bishop and his priests



The Guardroom, Scotland Yard. From an Etching by J. T. SMITH, 1805.

into St. James's Park, and informed them briefly of the King's unquestionable causes of complaint, and of the arrangements made for their immediate departure. The Bishop refused to move, saying he regarded himself as an ambassador. Conway replied that he might regard himself as he pleased, but that if he did not depart peacefully he would be turned out by force.

Next, Lord Conway entered Whitehall, where he firmly but politely informed the French servants of the Queen of his errand. They were to go first to Somerset House in the Strand, where he proposed to make separate arrangements for each of them. The women screamed and stormed, and after Conway had given them reasonable time, he summoned the yeomen of the guard, who thrust them out forcibly and locked the doors after them. They went to Somerset House, where Charles himself visited them the same afternoon.

More than a month later they were still at Somerset House, when Lord Conway was again called in; but, what with the obstinacy of the Bishop, and the clamour of the women, it took four days and forty carriages to transport them to Dover. The whole story is in Ellis's *Letters*, and in *D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature*, and is well summarised by Jesse in his *Court of England under the Stuarts*, to which I may refer a reader interested in the subject; my own concern having, of course, been only with that part which related to Whitehall.

That Charles should have been forced into war, and, above all, a civil war, was a great misfortune to the progress of civilisation, as shown in the arts and sciences. Painting, music, architecture flourished at his Court, together with poetry and science. He probably brought more fine pictures into England than all the kings put together since his time. Walpole says, "As there was no art which Charles did not countenance, the chasers and embossers of plate were among the number of the protected at Court." Casting in bronze was a favourite art, and Fanelli, who made the statues of Charles and his Queen at St. John's College, Oxford, should be named, as well as Le Sœur, who made the King's equestrian statue which is now at Charing Cross, but which was originally made for Lord Portland and set up at Roehampton. The King's cabinet pictures were lodged at Whitehall in a chamber expressly built for them by Inigo Jones. Undoubtedly the pictures were, of all his works of art, those which Charles chiefly loved. He contrived to acquire a magnificent collection, and it is evident from one or two entries that Jones had a general commission not to let anything slip

which would prove a desirable addition to the royal gallery. Although his taste lay chiefly in ancient pictures, Charles largely patronised Van Dyck, and Van Dyck's principal pupils and contemporaries, such as Janssen, Walker, and Dobson. Moreover, he bought on occasion lavishly. The collection of the Duke of Mantua came into the market, and was bought whole by the agents of King Charles. He hung it on the walls of the Banqueting House, but intended to have embellished that building with paintings by Van Dyck, representing ceremonials of the Order of the Garter. These would naturally have comprised portraits of most of the great men of the day. There was also a scheme on foot for establishing a school of art somewhat on the lines of our Royal Academy, but more distinctly intended for teaching. This, of course, fell through, like all other schemes of the kind, during the civil war. Before his death the leaders of the Commonwealth endeavoured to sell off or otherwise make away with the treasures of art which Charles had gathered. Their animosity against pictures containing representations of the second person of the Holy Trinity or of the Virgin Mary induced them to order their destruction. That very few of these orders were carried out is plain from the list preserved by Walpole. We are anticipating the order of events if we pause here to describe the gradual dispersal of the great royal collection. The sale went on at intervals from 1648 to 1653, but many pieces remained in England. Some did not even leave Whitehall, and there are now many in the National Gallery which once belonged to the unfortunate Charles.

The best account of the sale is that written by Horace Walpole, who used for his purpose the notes of George Vertue, the engraver. The prices were fixed, but the highest bidder, if more was offered, was adjudged the buyer. We cannot do better than take some items from Walpole's list. The cartoons of Raphael were bought in by Cromwell for the insignificant sum of 300*l*. The other cartoons, those representing the triumphs of Cæsar, by Andrea Mantegna, went for 1000*l*., and were also reserved for Cromwell. They had formed part of the Mantua Gallery already referred to. Apparently they had been removed from Whitehall to Hampton Court, where they have ever since remained. We read of many Madonnas; one,

said to be by Raphael, fetching 800*l.*; but another Raphael, afterwards estimated much more highly, was the celebrated "St. George and the Dragon," sometimes called "St. Michael," now in the Louvre. A Venus, called "Del Pardo," by Titian, sold for 600*l.* The "Mercury teaching Cupid, with Venus standing by," painted by Correggio, which is now in the National Gallery, went for 800*l.* This had also formed an item in the great Mantua Collection. The picture had many adventures. The Duke of Alva took it to Spain and subsequently it became the property of the famous Prince of the Peace, in whose collection it remained until 1808, when it fell into the hands of Murat. It thus found its way back into Italy. Lord Castlereagh bought it and the "Ecce Homo," which hangs near it, from the ex-Queen of Naples at Vienna, and in 1834 it was purchased from Lord Londonderry for the National Gallery. Rubens' "Peace and War" was presented to Charles by the painter in 1630. It now only fetched 100*l.*, and went to the Doria Gallery at Genoa, whence it was sold, brought back to England, and presented to the National Gallery in 1828 by the first Duke of Sutherland. After the Restoration, strong efforts were made to gather the dispersed pictures again. The States of Holland bought the whole collection of Gerard Reyntz and presented them to Charles II. on his restoration. The Government went to law with Van Leemput, who had bought a great portrait of King Charles I., by Van Dyck, for 150*l.* There were various negotiations, in which Van Leemput was offered a fair compensation. As he refused, the law was put in force, and Van Leemput got nothing. This must not be confused with the Marlborough Van Dyck which is now in the National Gallery. It is plain, remarks Walpole, from a catalogue made for James II., that a large number of pictures remained at Whitehall unsold, and it is very possible that Oliver Cromwell intervened, when he had the power, to prevent their sale. We must always thank his taste for having rescued the two great sets of Mantegna's and Raphael's cartoons. It will be observed that though the store was by no means exhausted, the sales ceased in 1653, the year of his inauguration as Protector. In 1660 Cromwell's widow tried in vain to retain possession of some pictures and other treasures.

Before we go on to speak of the great tragedy which gave Whitehall a world-wide celebrity, we may make a note from a passage quoted by Mr. Law in his catalogue of the pictures at Hampton Court. One of these pictures represents Charles I. and his Queen dining in public. The picture is by Van Bassen, who also painted the King and Queen of Bohemia similarly employed. Mr. Law's account of the first-named picture is very interesting, and relates mainly to life at Whitehall. The King and Queen are being "served by gentlemen-in-waiting with dishes, more of which are being brought in from the door opposite them by attendants. In the right corner is a sideboard, and wine cooling in brass bowls on the floor. Several dogs are running about. At the end of the hall is a raised and recessed daïs, where spectators are looking on through some columns. The decoration of the hall is in the classic taste, and is very fine and elaborate. On the walls hang several pictures." Though this doubtless belonged to Charles I., it is not found catalogued among his pictures; but in the catalogue of James II. we find No. 937: "A large piece, where King Charles the First and Queen, and the Prince are at dinner." It is dated over the door, on the right, 1637. It is engraved in Jesse's *Memoirs of the Stuarts*, and is chiefly valuable for the architecture and decoration, and as exhibiting the manners of the time, and the prevalent custom in that age of royalty dining in public. "There were daily at Charles I.'s Court, 86 tables, well furnished each meal; whereof the King's table had 28 dishes; the Queen's, 24; 4 other tables, 16 dishes each, and so on. In all about 500 dishes each meal, with bread, beer, wine and all things necessary. There was spent yearly in the King's house, of gross meat, 1500 oxen; 7000 sheep, 1200 calves; 300 porkers, 400 young beefs, 6800 lambs, 300 flitches of bacon; and 26 boars. Also 140 dozen geese, 250 dozen of capons, 470 dozen of hens, 750 dozen of pullets, 1470 dozen of chickens; for bread, 364,000 bushels of wheat; and for drink, 600 tuns of wine and 1700 tuns of beer; together with fish and fowl, fruit and spice, proportionately." (*Present State of London*, 1681.)

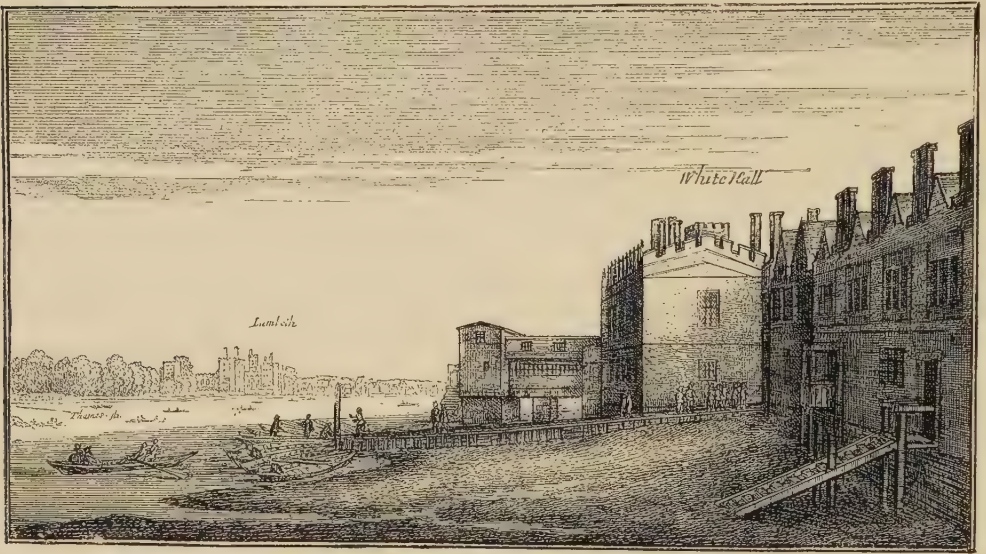
As to Henrietta Maria at dinner, an anecdote is reported by Jesse: "Notwithstanding her conciliating manners on her first arrival

in England, it soon became evident that the spirit of Henry IV. was not entirely dormant in the bosom of his daughter. A singular scene, which took place at Court, shortly after her marriage, is thus described by an eye-witness. 'The Queen, howsoever very little of stature, is yet of a pleasing countenance, if she be pleased, but full of spirit and vigour, and seems of a more than ordinary resolution. With one frown, diverse of us being at Whitehall to see her, being at dinner, and the room somewhat over-heated with the fire and company, she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a Queen could have cast such a scowl.' (See Jesse's *Court of England under the Stuarts*, ii. 16.)

The whole sad history of the Great Rebellion has been told at full length in divers places, and only incidentally concerns us here. We see that Charles was shifty and wanting in straightforwardness. None of his political opponents could trust even his promises. No one could deny him both courage and coolness in the hour of danger. We might dwell on what might have happened if he had saved Strafford; but the bold policy in which that would have landed him — the policy Strafford himself described as "thorough" — though it might have rid him of his enemies, would have cost a tremendous price to the nation. When Charles promised Strafford to save his life, he had scarcely power to make his promise true. He gained nothing by Strafford's death, and only lost one of the two or three really able advisers he had. It is not possible to believe that he thought the savage fanatics who clamoured for the great minister's blood would pause and ask no more. "Moderation" was a word that did not exist in their vocabulary, and it is rather melancholy to see John Milton made the mouthpiece of a series of foul scandals on a King whose private life seems to have been absolutely pure, as Milton must have known. But politics were up to boiling point in those days. It was not enough to defeat an opponent in the House or at the poll; he must be put to death. So far the traditions of the Tudor times survived. Having stimulated their appetite by the death of Strafford, under legal forms and with the unwilling consent of the King, they proceeded to murder, by the travesty of a judicial process, the highest they could find in the country. Archbishop Laud was

brought to trial, or rather to condemnation, in March, 1644, and in January, 1645, he was beheaded. There was only left to quench their thirst for the best blood in the land a few nobles—the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and others; but there was one victim, the highest of all, and they had no notion of sparing him, though, by compassing his death, they ruined their own cause.

We can easily see that a Prime Minister like Strafford had done



Lambeth and Whitehall. From the Engraving by W. HOLLAR.

many things to make himself hated. We can see that Laud was also hated, mainly for being an archbishop. Another minister or another archbishop would be appointed in course of time, and both would be hated, and that, too, by a great many people who were, on the whole, loyal to the Crown, if not to the person of Charles. The death of Charles at Whitehall changed the feelings of this whole class. They may have groaned, as we hear they did. Some groaned because their King was killed, even though they may have thought he deserved his fate; but the great majority saw that all the good the popular party might have carried out for the people was annihilated at that one blow. Murderers are seldom moderate and beneficent reformers, though Agathocles did contrive to succeed in both these rôles in

Sicily. But that was a long time ago and a long way off, and few of the truer patriots of 1649 looked at these violent proceedings without both apprehension and horror—apprehension lest a murder of such huge dimensions should only mean anarchy in the Government and oppression of the people—as, in effect, it did—and horror at the perpetration of such an irrevocable crime without any reference to the people, either at the hustings or by a direct vote. But it appeared as if the Parliament, though, with the help of the army, it could kill the King, could not dissolve itself. The soldiers, however, without the Parliament, could, and did, force a dissolution, and in our next chapter we shall see the chief leader of the rebels residing in the old palace of Whitehall as a sovereign prince.

The greatest of all these changes was simply this. If we allow, as many of the so-called Puritans did, that the King had strictly forfeited his life, imprisonment, like that inflicted on Henry VI. for many years, or exile, like that which James II. afterwards underwent, would have been a sufficient penalty. France would not have gone to war to reinstate a Protestant dynasty, as it did not half a century later go to war to reinstate a Romanist, and the longer Charles I. lived the more improbable the return of his son became. But that scaffold at Whitehall altered the state of affairs. Instead of a King who certainly had not deserved well of his people, it gave them a young and, so far as they knew, an innocent and blameless King, whose coming they were forced, by the violence of the dominant faction, to hope for as for the salvation of their country.

Very little of the history of the Great Rebellion concerns Whitehall, at least until Oliver Cromwell assumes possession, and apes royalty in the old halls; but in Rymer's *Fœdera* we may observe that, from the beginning of the reign of James I., "Whitehall" gradually and more and more becomes the official designation of the palace. Charles naturally was not there during a long term of years. He was marching and counter-marching in the north, and so mis-managing all his affairs successively that, regarded as a game, the Civil War consisted of a series of alternate military and diplomatic defeats. The inevitable consequence was the utter ruin of the royal cause. In January, 1649 (then reckoned 1648), the King, a prisoner,

was brought from Windsor Castle and lodged at St. James's. On Saturday, the 20th, he walked, strongly guarded, across the park to Whitehall. He probably entered his old palace by the stairs near the tilt-yard, and traversed the passage which led to his former apartments. Here was a "bridge," or floating pier on the water's edge, and he was put into a boat and rowed up to Westminster, where he was placed in Sir Robert Cotton's house. The King was then brought into Westminster Hall and allowed a seat. Bradshaw was president of the Court, and there were some eighty commissioners. The King attended the Court four times in all, sometimes



Whitehall, from the River. From OGILVY'S Map, 1677.

going in a Sedan chair, sometimes, as we have seen, by boat. We need not detail the proceedings of Bradshaw and his assessors; but there is one thing which must be noted, namely, the dignity and tact of the King's behaviour when brought up to receive sentence. Green, who had but little sympathy with him, observes, quoting Marvel, "Whatever had been the faults and follies of his life—

"He nothing common did nor mean
Upon that memorable scene."

This fact—for it is not merely an opinion—seems to answer a question that is often asked: Did the coolness of Charles on that last day at Westminster Hall, and again on the scaffold at Whitehall, betray any feeling, any certainty that he would be respited or rescued? A moment's thought dispels the idea. Charles was manly,

dignified, truthful before Bradshaw and before the crowds which had assembled to see him die, because he recognised that all the finessing, the double meanings, the secret understandings, and the thousand miserable subterfuges which he imagined to be "statesmanship," and with which he had endeavoured to impose on the Scots and on the authorities of Carisbrooke and of Hampton Court, had done nothing for him, and if renewed now would have ensured that the fate which he foresaw had at last overtaken him would be justified by a large section of his contemporaries. He rose to the occasion. During those few hours at St. James's he saw that all he could do would be to save the throne for his son, and he succeeded, but it was by a line of conduct wholly different from that by which he had lost it for himself.

The place of execution was most carefully chosen. Though called "the open street of Whitehall," it was far from being really open. On the south were buildings pierced by the narrow archway of Holbein's Gate. On the west were the walled tilt-yard and the barracks and other buildings, ending with Wallingford House. On the north was the comparatively open roadway to Charing Cross. On the eastern side were long rows of gabled buildings already described, with, just south of an archway into the old courts of the palace, the Banqueting House. It was sworn at the trials of the Regicides, a few years later, that Oliver Cromwell superintended the arrangements. The evidence is not well supported, but, owing to Cromwell's great military reputation and to his subsequent elevation to the Protectorate, everything at this conjuncture was attributed to him. It is not very easy to reconcile the conflicting details of different stories. It neither adds to nor detracts from Oliver's guilt, neither adds to nor detracts from his fame, whether he was at Westminster or at Whitehall on that fatal day.

The crowd coming into the narrow court from Charing Cross saw an empty space in front of the hall. The palace and the barracks, and the innumerable passages and lodgings, were lined with "the sour-visaged saints" of the various Roundhead regiments—men to whom the death of Charles would be a latter-day miracle, a sign

from Heaven that their cause was won—that the Millennium, the Fifth Monarchy, was about to begin. Even when their own turn came such men believed, till they were actually “dancing on air,” that they would be supernaturally rescued. The crowd which swarmed into the street saw only a few soldiers round the black scaffold which, at the height of the first floor, stood in front of the hall, a little to the northward. The better sort of spectators were on the roof of Wallingford House, not directly fronting the scaffold, but near enough to see. Here was stationed the venerable Archbishop Ussher of Armagh, who is reported to have fainted as he saw the King led forth. Below was a man whose account of the scene would have been invaluable now. He only alludes to it in a note written in October, 1660. This was Samuel Pepys; and he remarks, after witnessing the death of General Harrison, “thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the blood of the King at Charing Cross.”

The Banqueting House is clearly described for us in a note, probably by Inigo Jones, which was printed a few pages back. It answers most of the questions raised in a long correspondence in the papers a few years ago. The situation, the problem to be solved, was briefly this. The scaffold was before the two windows next to Charing Cross. A hole was broken through the wall to admit of a passage to the platform direct from the interior. The regicides saw that there would be great danger in taking the King out by the only door, which was at the back or east side of the hall. They would have had to conduct him by a narrow open-air passage northward to the palace gate. After passing through the gate he would have had to go several yards through the crowd before he could reach the scaffold, wherever it was placed.

But many asked, in the correspondence just mentioned, Why did they break through the wall? Why did they not go through the window? Simply because there was at that time no glazed window on the western front of the hall. A great window was at the “upper end,” probably that toward Westminster. There was, also, it is probable, a central window looking into the palace court on the eastern side. But toward “the street of Whitehall” there were no

open windows, all being built up—as, indeed, the lowest tier remained until a couple of years ago. It is unlikely, though some have asserted it, that the upper tier had been opened and glazed at this time. In any case, these upper windows, if they existed, which is unlikely, would have been of no use to the contrivers of the King's death. They were too high up and inaccessible except through a narrow balcony within the hall, where one man might have successfully resisted hundreds. The window “at the upper end” may have given light enough, as the hall was not built for use in daylight. It remained in this twilight condition until George I. opened it as a chapel about 1724. Then windows on the first floor became necessary. At first, as on the eastern side, only the centre window was opened. As late as 1761, the third and fifth were still built up. It was probably not until 1830, when the hall was “thoroughly restored” by Sir John Soane, that all the windows on the western side were opened, except those on the ground floor. The ground-floor windows were opened first for the United Service Institution. It was asserted in the daily papers that they were re-opened, but, as a fact, they never were opened before.

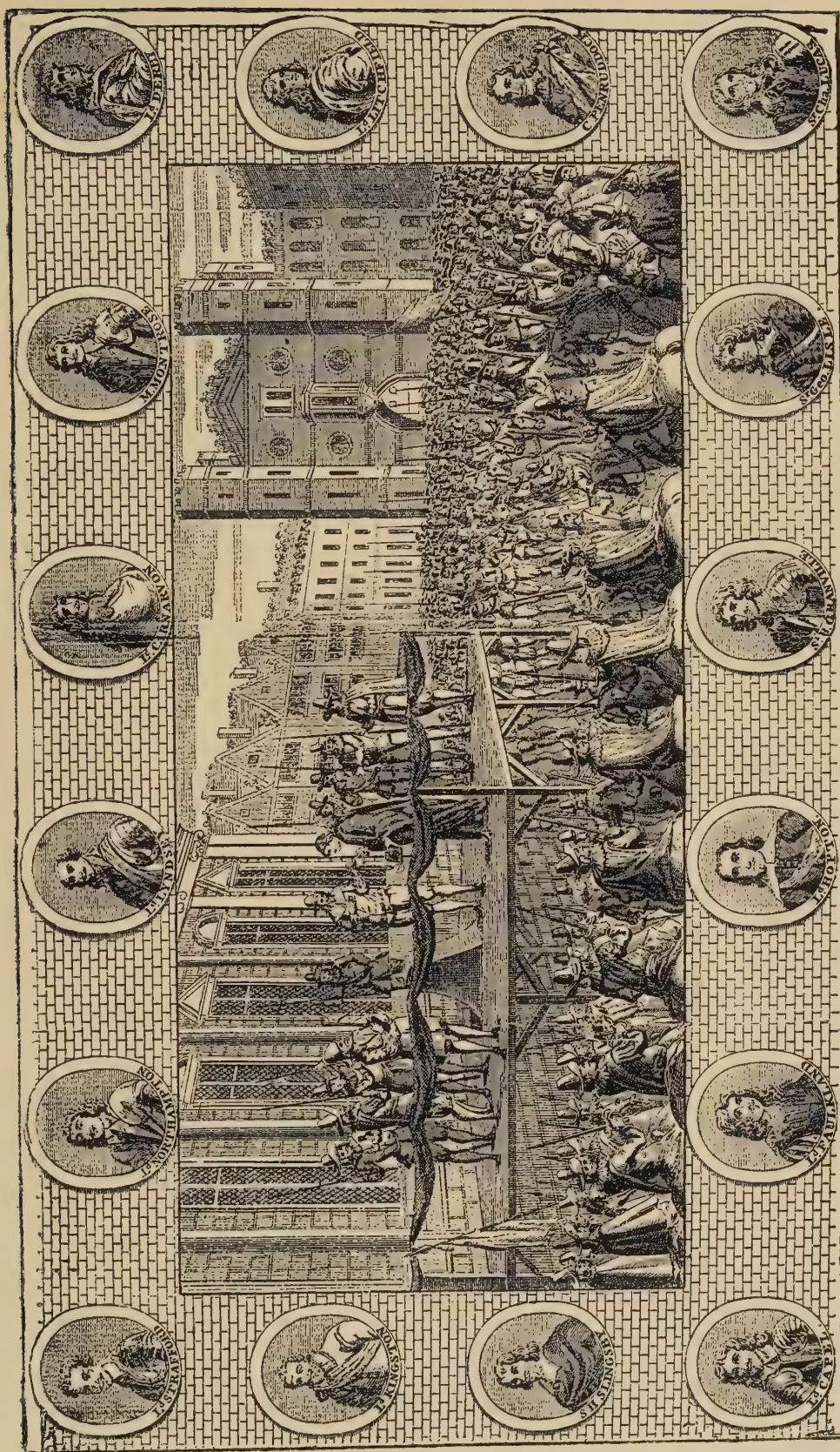
If we schedule these notes we may safely conclude that the lowest tier of windows was only glazed in our own day; that those of the middle—the Ionic storey—were still unglazed in 1649; and that in Sylvestre's view, taken about fifty years after the great tragedy, there was not a single glazed window on this, the western, front. All the apparent openings were filled with masonry.

We now understand why the wall had to be broken through, and perhaps why the middle window was chosen. The scaffold stretched from the opening to the north-west corner of the hall, both it and the short passage leading to it being parallel with, and possibly close against, the face of the blank wall with its closed and built-up windows. The reason for this arrangement is obvious. Had the passage and the scaffold jutted out at right angles they would have reached far into the surging and probably angry crowd, and the number and daring of the soldiers must have been quadrupled at least. Again, had the scaffold stretched toward the southern extremity of the Banqueting House, it would have been close to the gallery by which

Charles had entered the palace that morning. This gallery, in fact, touched the southern corner of the hall. The military eye of the officer who made and carried out the arrangements must have seen dangers of rescue and other possibilities which it was needful to guard against. Knowing all these things and others of the kind, we see that some of the contemporary views—they are chiefly Dutch—which show the northward position of the scaffold are correct, and not those—chiefly English—which adorn prayer-books printed after the Restoration, and place the scaffold before the middle window.

When Charles was brought out, he showed that, as he himself had said to Lord Digby, if he could not live like a King, he could die like a gentleman. Juxon, at that time Bishop of London, had the courage to attend him, as well as Herbert, his long-tried servant. The King's last devotions in his old chapel were interrupted by the impertinences of some of the unauthorised ministers, whose nonconformist consciences probably justified their interference. There was some unexpected delay in the preparations. If the carpenters employed were not Roundheads or Fifth Monarchy fanatics, it is easy to understand that they hesitated over a task which would make them marked men among their fellows for years to come.

The King had reached Whitehall at ten. It was now past noon, the dinner-hour of that day. Some dishes were provided for his use, but he would not eat. He had received the Holy Communion, and would eat no more in this world. Meanwhile, he retired to the apartments he had occupied in happier days, and gave himself up to private meditation and prayer. As the afternoon wore on, Bishop Juxon persuaded him, lest his strength should fail him at the last, to eat a piece of bread and drink a glass of wine. Then he went with the soldiers to where in the western wall of the Banqueting House the masonry had been pierced to give access to the scaffold. Jesse, writing just after Soane's operations in 1830, reports that he had seen traces of the opening in the brickwork. He does not say clearly where it was, nor does it now greatly matter, as we know where it must have been. Charles very soon reached the scaffold and made ready for the end. Meanwhile, Juxon spoke to him of the future life. It was far off, he said, but the passage short. The King replied as



The Execution of Charles I. From a Print of 1649.

if grateful for the good Bishop's dry and dull remarks. If we contrast them with the "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven!" of another ecclesiastic, they seem all the more tame. But to the King's ear they brought a different echo. He remembered that he had once been crowned. The applauding congregation had crowded round him in the old Abbey close by; and the words of Bishop Senhouse, so distasteful then, so truly prophetic now, came into his mind: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." He turned to Juxon and answered, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown." The Bishop, who was not at the coronation, probably wondered. Then followed the gift of his jewel of St. George, with the still unexplained charge: "Remember!" The block was low, it seemed too low. But after a moment's hesitation—to quote the words of Marvell once more—

"He laid his comely head
Down as upon a bed;"

and in a few moments more the White King had set out on his last journey, "faithful unto death."

CHAPTER IV

Legendary Anecdote of Cromwell and the Body of Charles I.—The Funeral—Cromwell at the Cockpit—Removes to Whitehall—Great State—Illness and Death—Richard Cromwell—Pepys on Whitehall—Lodgings in the Palace—Evelyn—St. George's Eve—Death of Charles II.—William and Mary—Royal Apartments Burnt—Conclusion.

It is very probable that, among the colonels and generals who lodged themselves, or were lodged, in Whitehall after the death of Charles I., Oliver Cromwell was one. Five years elapsed before he came into residence as Lord Protector, but, whether as a military commander or as a minister of state, there were several capacities in which he could have claimed chambers in the great straggling congeries of separate sets of apartments which were comprised in the palace. The amount of his guilt in the King's murder it is difficult to assess. He may have been no more involved than any other member of the Regicide party, except, of course, Bradshaw. Cromwell's subsequent prominence made him the subject of every rumour, every fable. When any one heard a story against a member of Parliament or an officer of the Roundheads, if no name was put to it, that of Cromwell was ready to hand. Jesse reports one which is more than usually improbable :—

After the decapitation of Charles, he is said to have paid a visit to the corpse, and, putting his finger to the neck, to have made some remarks on the soundness of the body and the promise which it presented of longevity. According to another account, on entering the chamber, he found the coffin closed, and, being unable to raise the lid with his staff, he took the sword of one Bowtell, a private soldier, who was standing by, and opened it with the hilt. Bowtell,

asking him what government they should have now, he said the same that then was.

How an officer, even though he may have been on duty, could penetrate to the chamber of death in such a way must remain a mystery. The body of Charles was conveyed from the scaffold by the faithful Herbert, with Juxon's assistance. It was placed in one of the King's apartments, that nearest, we learn, to the back-stairs. Topham, private surgeon to Fairfax, was employed to sew on the head and to embalm the body. Permission was asked to bury it in the chapel of Henry VII., but this the republican authorities refused, though they provided five hundred pounds for the funeral expenses. A coffin covered with black velvet had been ready on the scaffold. In this the body was removed to St. James's Palace, and placed in a leaden coffin. There it remained more than a week, and was seen by many visitors. The execution had taken place on Tuesday, the 30th of January. On Wednesday, the 7th of February, a little procession was formed, consisting, besides the hearse, of four mourning coaches, in which were Bishop Juxon, the Duke of Richmond, Lords Hertford, Southampton and Lindsay, with Mildmay and Herbert. At Windsor the first halt was at the Deanery, but the coffin was afterwards removed to the King's apartments in the Upper Ward. Meanwhile a search was made in St. George's Chapel for a suitable vault, and, that which contained the remains of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour having been discovered, the body of King Charles was carried by the Roundhead soldiers to the chapel, the snow falling thick on the coffin of the White King.

Many believed that his burial really took place within the precincts of Whitehall, but an examination of the grave of Henry VIII. in the reign of George III. revealed the decapitated corpse of Charles I., which, after a careful examination by Sir Henry Halford, was restored once more to its resting-place.

Oliver Cromwell appears to have had lodgings within the precincts of the palace, but at a great distance from the state apartments. A kind of village clustered round the Tennis Court, a little to the southward of the tilt-yard and the Horse Guards. A green lawn, and perhaps a garden, existed here, and here General Monk subse-

quently had his lodgings. A narrow passage or lane, known as the "Entrance to the Cockpit," led to them. It is as nearly as possible the modern Downing Street.

It was almost five years after the King's death before Cromwell was formally installed Protector. This was in December, 1653, a few days only before the end of the year, as we should reckon it, because in those days 1653 went on till the 25th of March, 1654. About one o'clock "his Highness" left the Cockpit in a coach of state. Before him went the judges, the members of the Council, the Lord Mayor, and the aldermen. The procession passed through King Street to Westminster Hall. There he accepted the articles which had been prepared, and the procession returned. In the Banqueting House a minister made an exhortation to the new Lord Protector, the Lord Mayor sitting by, and so the proceedings concluded.

Cromwell apparently returned for the time being to his lodgings in the Cockpit, and the state apartments were got ready for him. He went over to the Banqueting House to receive foreign ambassadors, which he did seated on something very like a royal throne. The whole palace was granted to him, and, as we have seen, it was at about this date when the sale of the royal collection of pictures ceased.

As the spring drew on he thought it was time to move. Jesse supplies us with the following notes on this event. The contemporary notices of the removal of the Protector to the stately apartments of Whitehall are not without interest:—

"April 13, 1654. This day the bed-chamber, and the rest of the lodgings and rooms appointed for the Lord Protector in Whitehall, were prepared for his Highness to remove from the Cockpit on the morrow."—"His Highness the Lord Protector, with his lady and family, this day (April 14) dined at Whitehall, whither his Highness and family are removed, and did this night lie there, and do there continue."—"April 15. His Highness went this day to Hampton Court, and returned again at night."

Hampton Court and Windsor Castle had been granted to him as well as Whitehall. Poor Mrs. Cromwell, who seems to have been of a simple and unostentatious character, can hardly have relished the

change. She became "Her Highness the Protectress," and had more servants and attendants than she can have known what to do with. The exact part of the palace in which the new state apartments were placed is unknown. It was probably not where the late King lived, nor, on the other hand, can it have been far from the Banqueting House and the picture gallery. In addition to the Lord Protector and the Lady Protectress, room had to be found for their august family and for sons-in-law and children. It is not uninteresting to read this contemporary notice from the *Weekly Intelligencer* :—

"The Privy Lodgings for his Highness the Lord Protector in Whitehall are now in readiness, as also the lodgings for his Lady Protectress; and likewise the privy kitchen, and other kitchens, butteries and offices; and it is conceived the whole family will be settled there before Easter. The tables for diet prepared are these:—

"A table for his Highness.

"A table for the Protectress.

"A table for Chaplains and Strangers.

"A table for the Steward and Gentlemen.

"A table for the Gentleman.

"A table for coachmen, grooms, and other domestic servants.

"A table for Inferiors, or sub-servants."

Nothing can be more curious than to observe the change which seems to have come over the plain Huntingdonshire squire. He arrogated to himself and received all the deference previously paid to a sovereign. He allowed nothing to be omitted, and many of his contemporaries, English as well as foreign, have noticed the magnificence and stateliness of the ceremonious observances at his court. Jesse has summarised a few of these notes, and it is well worth while to quote some of his expressions. A few weeks after his elevation, we find the Protector entertained by the citizens of London with all the honours which, for centuries, they had been accustomed to pay to their sovereigns on their accession. Monsieur De Bordeaux writes to De Brienne, 23rd of February, 1654 :—"On his solemn entry into the City he was received like a king: the Mayor went before him with the sword in his hand about him

nothing but officers, who do not trouble themselves much as to fineness of apparel; behind him the members of the Council in State coaches, furnished by certain lords. The concourse of people was great; wheresoever Cromwell came a great silence; the greater part did not even move their hats. At the Guildhall was a great feast prepared for him, and at the table sat the Mayor, the Councillors, the Deputies of the Army, as well as Cromwell's son and son-in-law. Towards the Foreign Ambassadors, the Protector deports himself as a king, for the power of kings is not greater than his."

Again, De Bordeaux writes a few weeks afterwards:—"Some say he will assume the title and prerogatives of a Roman emperor. In order to strengthen his party, he deals out promises to all parties. It is here, however, as everywhere else; no government was or is right in the people's eyes, and Cromwell, once their idol, is now the object of their blame, perhaps their hate."

There is a record of May Day in the same year, 1654. The writer is much shocked at the licence that prevailed. There was "much sin committed by wicked meetings, with fiddlers, drunkenness, ribaldry, and the like." Cromwell kept open house at Whitehall on Mondays. In 1657, the Speaker announced to the House of Commons that the Lord Protector invited the whole House to dinner in the Banqueting House, and he had similarly received them the year before.

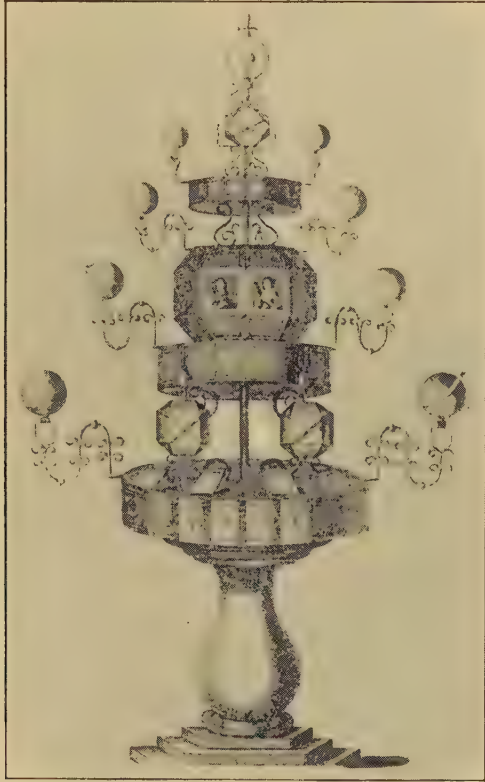
Cromwell's last illness seized him at Hampton Court. He was removed to Whitehall. There, while a tremendous tempest howled round the old walls, he breathed his last on the afternoon of the 3rd of September, 1658. The concourse of fanatical preachers which disturbed his last moments seems to have been doubled at his death, and Tillotson, the future Archbishop, describes Richard Cromwell as seated at one side of a table with six divines at the other. Cromwell's funeral took place from Somerset House, not from Whitehall, so it does not specially concern us. Suffice it to say here, that no king or queen has ever been interred at so much cost or so magnificently.

There is little except Tillotson's note quoted above to connect Richard Cromwell with Whitehall; but a meeting of discon-

tented officers which he permitted at Wallingford House, over the way, precipitated his fall. It has always been asserted, apparently with truth, that Oliver's wife had been inclined to Royalism, and that she pressed her husband to bring in the late King's son. This did not, however, prevent her from an endeavour to secure some of the royal effects at Whitehall, when she, in her turn, received notice to quit. Early in 1660 they were taken possession of by a Commission.

For the next few years the name of Whitehall is chiefly to be found in the delightful pages of Pepys, and those of that sanctimonious prig, Evelyn. Mr. Wheatly, who has made a special study of Pepys, tells us, in his *London, Past and Present*, that the chief apartments of Whitehall mentioned in the *Diary* are as follows:—The Matted Gallery, the Gallery of Henry VIII., the Boarded Gallery, the Shield Gallery, the Stone Gallery, and the Vane Room. We may identify some of these. The Gallery of Henry VIII. was probably that which led over Holbein's Gate to the park. The Shield Gallery must be that spoken of by Manningham, about the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as being decorated with scutcheons. There was a Guardroom, mentioned by Lilly, the astrologer. The Adam and Eve Gallery was so called from a picture attributed to Mabuse, now at Hampton Court. The Stone Gallery looked on the Sundial Lawn in the Privy Garden. Pepys also mentions the Banqueting House, where in April, 1661, he "saw the King create my Lord Chancellor, and several others, Earls, and Mr. Crew, and several others, Barons: the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earls to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest, and sword and coronet, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the King. And the same for the Barons, only he is led up but by three of the old Barons, and are girt with swords before they go to the King." In the Banqueting House, also, the King touched "people for the King's evil" (June 23, 1660). There was a service "At the Healing" in Books of Common Prayer. It was omitted, I think, about 1709. There was a "balcone" in the Shield Gallery. In this room Pepys saw the King bid farewell to Montagu, who was going to sea. "I saw with

what kindness the King did hug my lord at his parting." We have a topographical note in July, 1660. Pepys walked all the afternoon in Whitehall Court. We know where the Court was, and now we learn that the Council Chamber looked into it. "It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the King looking out



*Pyramidal Dial in Privy Garden, set up in 1669. From an Engraving by
H. STEEL, 1673.*

of the Council window." There are many references to the Chapel. It stood near the river, in the eastern part of the palace, and had two vestries. Inigo Jones designed a beautiful reredos of coloured marbles for it. This reredos was saved when the palace was burnt, and was given by Queen Anne to Westminster Abbey. There is a view in Dart's *Westminster Abbey* which shows it—the only represent-

ation of it I have met with. It was destroyed in the early days of the so-called Gothic revival, and a piece of stucco-work by Bernasconi took its place. That again was "restored" away in favour of a very poverty-stricken piece of mosaic, which by some blunder was made too small for its place, and had to be eked out with a meaningless border. A small fragment of Inigo's altar-piece is in the triforium.

Pepys was much pleased (8th July, 1660) to hear the organ in Whitehall Chapel. The old organs had been destroyed under the Commonwealth all over the country, but now the diarist writes:—"Here I heard very good music, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing men in surplices in my life." There are many other mentions of the chapel, and, on one occasion, Mr. Hill took him up to the King's Closet, a kind of gallery looking into the chapel, the King being away—"and there we did stay all service-time, which I did think a great honour."

He has something to say about the works of art at Whitehall. On one occasion he admired "a great many fine antique heads of marble that my lord Northumberland had given the King." Next he inspected the pictures. They consisted (1) of those sold by the Commonwealth and recovered; (2) those retained by Cromwell; and (3) a collection which, having been bought by a Dutchman from Whitehall, was obtained by the States of Holland from his widow, and presented to Charles II. on his restoration. The gallery which, as we shall see, is mentioned by Evelyn, appears to have been used as a kind of drawing-room in the evening.

Pepys and his wife were present on one occasion when the Queen dined at Whitehall. This Queen was Henrietta Maria, the widow of Charles I. He describes her as in her Presence Chamber, and says she was a very little, plain old woman, and nothing in her presence or her garb different from any ordinary person. He goes on: "The Princess of Orange I had often seen before. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her hair frizzed short up to her ears, did make her seem so much the less to me." A little further on he tells of being locked by accident into "Henry the Eighth's Gallery," and being unable to get into the Boarded Gallery. In 1666, he mentions a dining-room,



Whiteball in 1724.

but where it was he does not tell us. There are many other notices of Whitehall in the *Diary*, but the foregoing are probably the most important.

When we look at Vertue's plan already mentioned, nothing is more striking than the number of separate residences the palace contained. The plan purports to have been made in the reign of Charles II., and is dated 1680. There are, however, apparently, two or three anachronisms. At least a score of dukes and other nobles had their quarters in the palace, including Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, who, with his awful Duchess, has the pleasant house by the Cockpit, occupied by Cromwell before he became Protector. It is said to have been from this house that the Princess Anne set off on her famous ride with the Bishop of London, to meet William of Orange, in 1688. Lady Castlemaine, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Ormonde, and Captain Cooke, of whom Pepys sometimes speaks in disparaging terms, and who was master of the singing boys in the King's Chapel, or something of the kind—all these were close to the Cockpit. In the other part of Whitehall—east, that is, of the “street”—were apartments for the King himself, the Queen, the Maids of Honour, for Lord Bath, Lord Peterborough, the Duke of Richmond, a Mrs. Kirk, a Lady Sears, and a vast number of people of whom history has recorded but little, including “Mr. Chiffinch.” There are, besides, a number of officials, such as the Cofferer, the Queen's Secretary and Waiters, the Treasurer, the Chamberlain, the Doctor, and the pages of the back-stairs. A few years later an apartment adjoining the Stone Gallery was granted to Louise Renée de Penancoet de Keroualle, duchess of Portsmouth, whom Evelyn describes as having “a childish, simple, and baby face.”

Evelyn, like Pepys, makes occasional mention of Whitehall Chapel and of the other buildings. We need not quote more than one or two. In April, 1667, he writes:—

“22nd.—Saw the sumptuous supper in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, on the eve of St. George's Day, where were all the companions of the Order of the Garter.

“23rd.—In the morning, his Majesty went to chapel with the Knights of the Garter, all in their habits and robes, ushered by the

heralds ; after the first service, they went in procession, the youngest first, the Sovereign last, with the Prelate of the Order and Dean, who had about his neck the book of the Statutes of the Order ; and then the Chancellor of the Order (old Sir Henry de Vic), who wore the purse about his neck ; then the Herald and Garter-King-at-Arms, Clarencieux, Black Rod. But before the Prelate and Dean of Windsor went the gentlemen of the chapel and choristers, singing as they marched ; behind them two doctors of music in damask robes ; this procession was about the courts at Whitehall. Then, returning to their stalls and seats in the chapel, placed under each knight's coat-armour and titles, the second service began. Then, the King offered at the altar, an anthem was sung ; then, the rest of the Knights offered, and lastly proceeded to the banqueting-house to a great feast. The King sat on an elevated throne at the upper end at a table alone ; the Knights at a table on the right hand, reaching all the length of the room ; over-against them a cupboard of rich gilded plate ; at the lower end, the music ; on the balusters above, wind music, trumpets, and kettle-drums. The King was served by the lords and pensioners who brought up the dishes. About the middle of the dinner, the Knights drank the King's health, then the King theirs, when the trumpets and music played and sounded, the guns going off at the Tower. At the Banquet, came in the Queen, and stood by the King's left hand, but did not sit. Then was the banqueting-stuff flung about the room profusely. In truth, the crowd was so great, that though I stayed all the supper the day before, I now stayed no longer than this sport began, for fear of disorder. The cheer was extraordinary, each Knight having forty dishes to his mess, piled up five or six high ; the room hung with the richest tapestry."

Then comes the end in a well-known and oft-quoted passage. It was in the winter of 1685. Why Evelyn visited Whitehall that particular Sunday we do not know. His description of the scene at Whitehall the last Sunday but one of the life of Charles II. is not new to any one, but must come in here : "I can never forget," he says, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting

and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, etc. ; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust."



Funeral of Queen Mary, 1694. From an Engraving by P. PERSOY.

James II. seems to have preferred St. James's to Whitehall as a residence during his brief and stormy reign. All his children were born there, and there is an account of his Queen, Mary of Modena, hastening from Whitehall just before the birth of the prince who became subsequently the Old Pretender.

William and Mary were hardly settled at Whitehall when they

began to look about for a house which would suit the King's health. At Whitehall he was constantly ill. The low, foggy, damp situation was not calculated for a man who suffered daily from asthma and often from ague or low fever. One day he looked at Holland House, and we read in the Kensington parochial accounts of the church bells being rung as he went through the suburban village. Holland House was perhaps too far away; but William next visited what was really the old manor house of Neyte, in Westminster, which was then called Nottingham House. It was purchased for him, and renamed Kensington Palace, and henceforth neither Whitehall nor St. James's saw much of him or of Queen Mary, except on state occasions. We gather from Evelyn that Charles II. had given suites of apartments to the Duchess of Portsmouth, whom the people called Madam Carwell, and others. The Duchess of Cleveland had a house near St. James's, and afterwards lived in Arlington Street. Nell Gwynne lived in Pall Mall: so that of all those "curses of the nation," as Evelyn calls them, only this Frenchwoman remained. If we look at Vertue's map, though we shall not see any mention of the lodgings of the Duchess, we do see an entry which, as it turns out, is more important. It points out the room of the King's laundress.

She was a Dutchwoman at this time, and made a charcoal fire to dry a shirt belonging to a Colonel Stanley. The situation of the room, if it was the same as that of the laundress of King Charles, is precisely that in which a fire, once set going, might spread in all directions, as it was surrounded with small chambers, probably with wooden partitions, and then again by chapels, libraries, galleries, halls, and other inflammable buildings. The unhappy Dutchwoman set her room on fire and perished in the flames. "The tapestry, bedding, the wainscotes were soon in a blaze," says Macaulay. "Before midnight, the King's apartments, the Queen's apartments, the wardrobe, the treasury, the office of the Privy Council, the office of the Secretary of State, had been destroyed." Evelyn mentions a second chapel as having been fitted up for James II.: both perished. The guardroom also, and the glorious gallery of which Evelyn speaks. The Banqueting House was saved, but some pictures by



Scotland Yard.

G. Stoklen, Sc.

Printed by J. A. Dal.

Holbein in the Matted Gallery were burnt out, and there was said to be considerable loss of life. We shall see presently why so many valuable pieces of furniture and pictures were saved. Some of them found their way across the park to St. James's. Others went as far

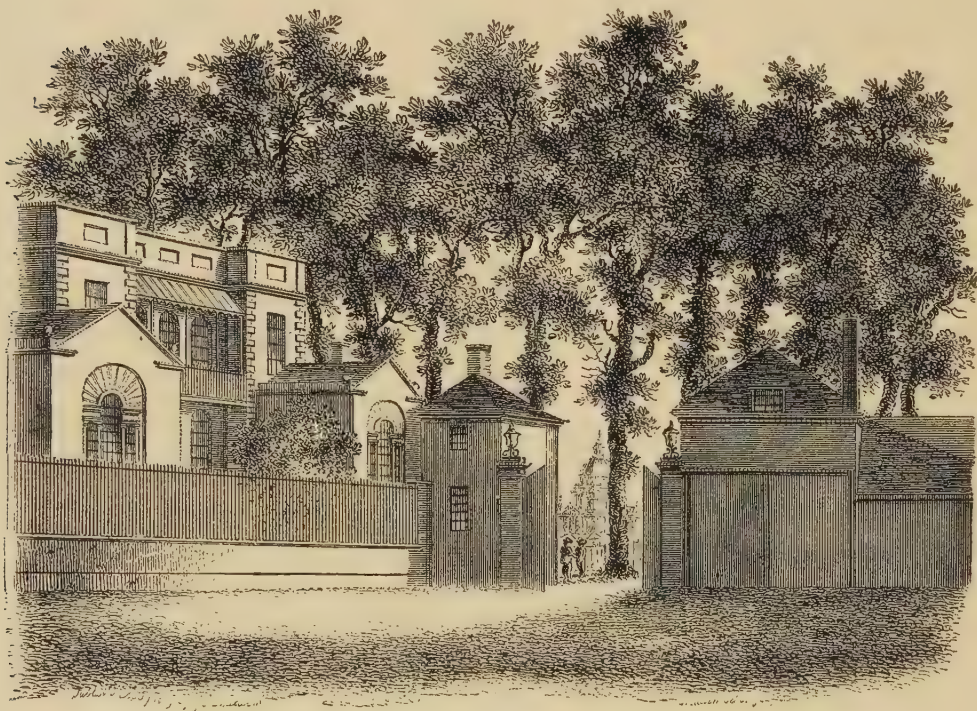


*Part of the Old Palace of Whitehall. From an Etching by
J. T. SMITH, 1805.*

out as Kensington, and are now to be found partly at Windsor and partly at Hampton Court.

The fire occurred on the night of the 4th January, 1698, and the King returning from one of his expeditions to Holland, found his palace, as he came up the river, in ruins. William himself acknowledges in a letter to a foreign friend that the accident, as he calls it, affected him less than it might another, because Whitehall

was a place in which he could not live. Several fires had occurred within a short time at Whitehall, the most destructive being that by which in April, 1691, the Duchess of Portsmouth was burnt out, after having had her house three times rebuilt, a subject on which Evelyn enlarges in his usual pious manner. The Duchess went to live in Kensington, and survived until far on in the reign of George II. All these fires did damage, but that of the 4th



View in Privy Garden. From an Engraving by J. MALCOLM, 1807.

January, 1698, seems to have been almost or altogether confined to the royal apartments. Macaulay's account of the fire is enormously exaggerated. The whole palace, on both sides of the "street of Whitehall" was mainly intact still—a vast region stretching up beyond Scotland Yard, and almost to Charing Cross. Abundant remains of the Tudor period were still to be seen twenty years ago by those who sought for them. I remember a pointed window in a basement as lately as 1877. The fact is, this part of the palace

was never destroyed by fire, but perished gradually, being pulled down piecemeal, to make way for other buildings, or falling into decay.

The first fire destroyed the Stone Gallery and the rooms between it and the river.—This Stone Gallery, as already mentioned, ran along the east side of the Privy Garden. It was not rebuilt, and the Duchess of Portsmouth lost her house. After the second fire the ground was leased out, and Pembroke House was built on it. I think it is now part of the Board of Trade. The rest of the row is now called Whitehall Gardens, a place in which many eminent people have lived, including Sir Robert Peel, one of the Queen's Premiers. Beyond, further south, was the Bowling Green. Here Montagu House now stands. We may feel sure, when we see how little was burnt, that William and Mary, if they had liked the place, might easily have reinstated the royal lodgings.

There is a curious print in Smith's *Sixty-two Additional Plates*, which seems to have puzzled some people. It represents Whitehall in a bird's-eye view in outline, and must have been drawn after the second fire, as Pembroke House has been built. The original drawing was in Crowle's collection. Smith stumbles over it when he says, "The dotted lines show the parts that were not penned in 'by the artist.'" He does not perceive that they mark places which had been burnt and had not been rebuilt. For us this print is interesting, as showing what a comparatively small part of the whole perished in the fire of 1698, and it shows us also what is the true answer to a question often asked: Why were not the pictures consumed? We can see now that they may have been taken down, all but the Holbeins, which were painted on the walls and ceiling of a chamber, and leisurely stored, probably in the Banqueting House, to be removed to St. James's and Kensington as convenient. In the same way there was time to remove anything of value from the chapel, including Inigo's great marble reredos. Indeed, it may be doubted if the chapel was burnt.

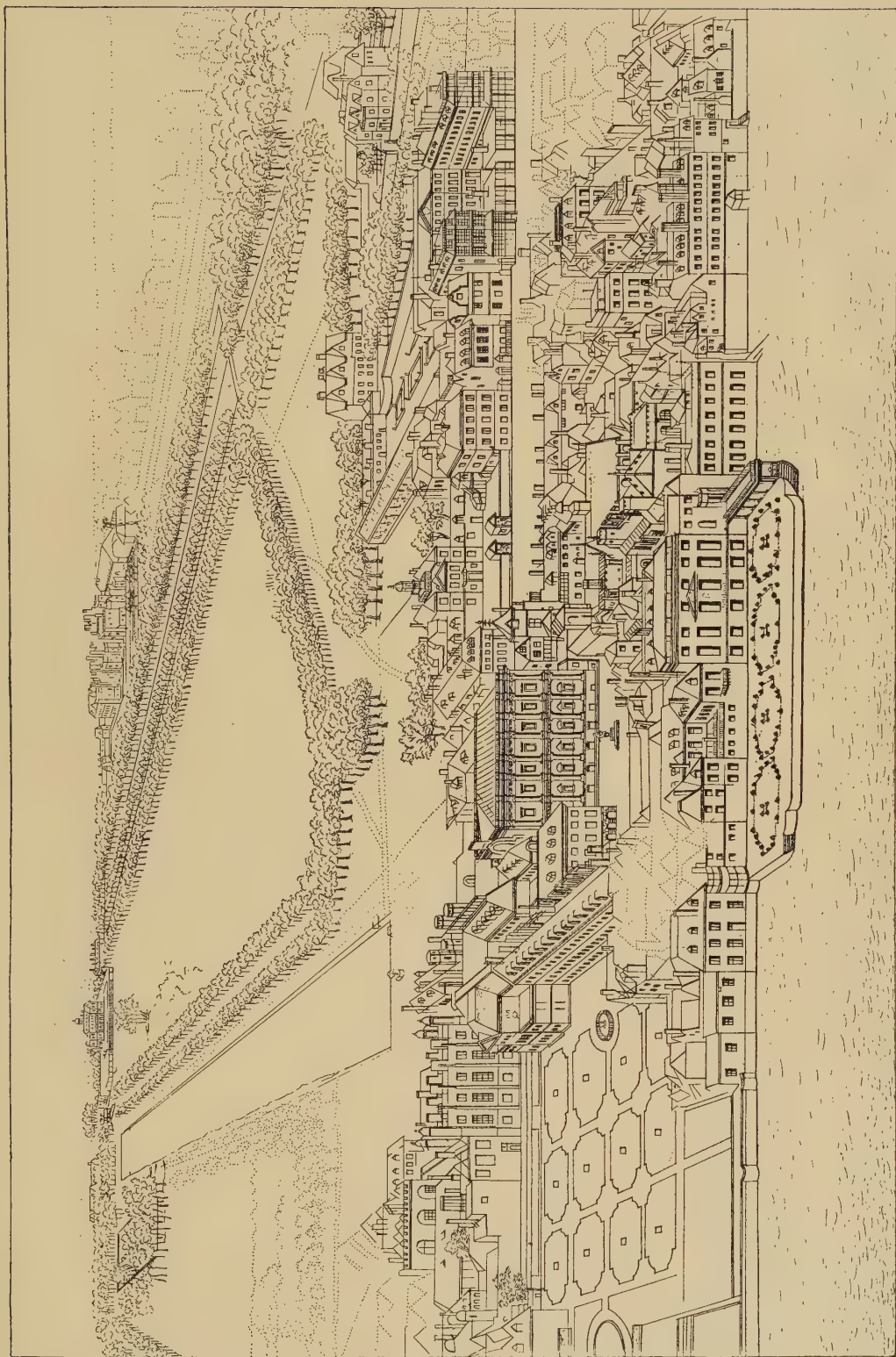
At the beginning of the last century there remained the two gates. The queer old Gothic King Street Gate was taken down in 1723. In 1759, Holbein's Gate was also removed, including, of

course, the stairs and gallery by which Charles I. entered the palace on that fatal 30th January. The terra-cotta heads of the Cæsars eventually went to Hampton Court. They are said to have been made by an Italian named Maiano. The brick and stone-work were removed by the Duke of Cumberland to make a triumphal arch at



Privy Garden. From an Engraving by T. MALTON, 1795.

Windsor. They form now a green mound near the Long Walk. Toby Rustat's leaden statue of James II. still stands behind the hall, and is popularly supposed to point to the spot on which James's father was beheaded. We have seen that this tragedy took place at the other side of the hall. There was an immediate talk of a new palace on this site, but it never came to anything. The second plan of Inigo Jones, that of 1639, is sometimes said to have been consulted by the authorities. Colen Campbell obtained it for his *Vitruvius Britannicus*, as he says, "from that ingenious gentleman,



Bird's-eye View of Whitehall and St. James's Park. From Smith's "Views of Westminster."

William Emmet, of Bromley, in the county of Kent, Esq., from whose original drawings the following five plates are published, whereby he has made a most valuable present to the sons of Art." Was Mr. Emmet, that ingenious gentleman, who seems otherwise unknown to fame, the architect consulted by William's Government?

INDEX

	PAGE		PAGE
Allowance, daily	50	Elizabeth, Queen, 9, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 66	
Anne of Cleves	18	Evelyn	66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74
„ Princess	69	Fergusson's criticisms	36
Banqueting House, the, 15, 16, 27, 28, 30, 32, 36, 38, 43, 48, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 75		Fire of 1681	74
Bishop Senhouse's sermon	60	„ 1698	73, 74
Burgh, Hubert de	7, 8	Gallery of Henry VIII.	66
Cales, Little	10	„ The Matted	66
Campbell's <i>Vitruvius</i>	43	„ „ Shield	66
Castlemaine, Countess of	69	„ „ Stone	66, 69
Chambers's remarks	38	Gate, Holbein's	9, 55, 66, 75
Chapel, the design for	36	„ King Street	75
Chapman's mask	24	Grey, Walter	8
Charing	5, 6	Henrietta Maria, her anger	51
Charles I., his accession	44	„ her French train	47
„ his burial	62	Henry VIII.	6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 20
„ his coronation	44	Henry, prince of Wales	24, 45
„ the ill omens	44, 45	Hentzner, Paul	9, 16
Charles II. at dinner	70	James II., his statue	76
„ death of	71	Jones, Inigo, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 38, 43, 47, 56, 67, 68, 76	
Chiffinch	69	„ „ design of 1639	38, 76
Conway, Lord	46, 47	„ „ reredos	67
Cost, probable, of palace	38	King Street	7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 22
Cromwell at the Cockpit	63	Laud, Archbishop	51, 52
„ at Whitehall	48, 61	Laurence, Abbot, of Westminster	5, 6, 7
„ his death	65	Monk, duke of Albemarle	69
„ Thomas	18	Northumberland House	22
Edward I.	6	Odo the Goldsmith	7
„ VI.	18, 20	Palaces, dimensions of	27, 28
„ the Confessor	5	Pepys	56, 66, 68, 69
		Persian Court	34, 38

	PAGE		PAGE
Pictures at Whitehall	47	Tyburn	5, 6, 45
„ sale of	48	Wallingford House	23, 55, 56, 66
Portsmouth, Duchess of	72, 74	Ware, Roger	7
Richmond Terrace	5, 6, 22	Whitehall Chapel	68, 69
Rubens, Sir Peter Paul	30	„ Court	67
St. Bride's, Fleet Street	7	„ Gardens	15
St. James's Palace	13, 20, 24, 62	„ first so-called	8
St. Margaret's, Westminster . . .	6, 8, 10, 13	„ street of	36, 43, 56, 74
Savoy	7, 10	“White King,” the	45, 60, 62
Scaffold for the King's death . .	56, 57	William and Mary	71
Spenser, Edmund	22	Windows of Banqueting House .	57
Stone, Nicholas	29, 30	Windsor, Lord	9, 10
Strafford, Earl of	51, 52	Wolsey, Thomas	8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 27
Thames	5, 6, 7, 22, 24, 27, 32		



PLATE I. FROM A COLOUR PRINT AFTER NISHIMURA SHIGÉNAGA (C. 1725).

JAPANESE WOOD ENGRAVINGS

*THEIR HISTORY, TECHNIQUE
AND CHARACTERISTICS*

By

WILLIAM ANDERSON, F.R.C.S.

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Author of "An Historical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Japanese
and Chinese Pictures in the British Museum"
"The Pictorial Arts of Japan," &c.*



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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	PAGE
I. From a colour print after Nishimura Shigénaga (<i>c.</i> 1725) . . . <i>Frontispiece</i>	
II. From a colour print after Suzuki Harunobu (<i>c.</i> 1765) <i>to face</i>	6
III. Actor in Female <i>rôle</i> . From a colour print after Katsugawa Shunshō (<i>c.</i> 1780) „ „	22
IV. From a colour print after Katsugawa Shunchō (<i>c.</i> 1780) „ „	32
V. From a colour print after Utamaro (<i>c.</i> 1800) „ „	50
VI. From a colour print after Utagawa Toyokuni (<i>c.</i> 1820) „ „	64

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT¹

1. Reduced facsimile of a woodcut in the Kwanyin Sutra. Dated 1331 . . .	8
2. Reduced facsimile of a Korean woodcut in the Sam-Kang-hèng-sil	10
3. Reduced facsimile of a wood engraving, attributed to the Buddhist priest Nichiren (1222-1282)	11
4. Agni Dêva, the Fire Divinity. Reduced facsimile of a woodcut, dated in the 2nd year of Sochiū (1325). Engraved by a priest named Riokin	12
5. Reduced from a woodcut in the Isé Monogatari (1608)	14
6. From an engraving after Hishigawa Moronobu (<i>c.</i> 1680)	16
7. The Three Saké Tasters (a burlesque on an old picture, called "The Three Religions." From an engraving after Okumura Masanobu (<i>c.</i> 1710) . . .	18
8. Crows in the Moonlight. From an engraving after Kōrin in the Gwa-shi Kwai-yo (1707)	19
9. The Mendicant Priest and the Wild Geese, after Hanabusa Itchō. From the Itchō gwa-fu (1770)	21
10. From a woodcut after Tachibana Morikuni. Engraved in the Ê-hon Shaho bukuro (1720)	24, 25
11. Girls Sketching. From a wood engraving after Nishigawa Sukenobu. In the Ê-hon Tama Kadzura (1736)	27
12. From a woodcut after a picture by Muh Ki (a Chinese artist of the 12th cen- tury). Engraved in the Ê-hon té-kagami (1720)	29

¹ All the cuts, unless otherwise specified, are taken from examples in the Author's Collection in the British Museum.

	PAGE
13. A Chinese Sage. Engraved from a sketch by Kano Tanyu in the Gwa-ko sen-ran (1740)	31
14. Falcon. From a picture by the Chinese Emperor, Hwei Tsung (12th century). Engraved in the Wa-Kan mei-gwa yen (1749)	33
15. From a woodcut after a drawing with the finger-nail, by Shih Ts'ao, a Chinese artist. Engraved in the Wa-Kan mei-gwa yen (1749)	35
16. Chinese Landscape, by Kano Tanyu. From an engraving in the Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa yei (1750)	37
17. Swallow and Willow Tree. From a woodcut after Kano Tanyu, in the Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa yei (1750)	39
18. Pheasant and Bamboo. From a woodcut after Kano Tsunénobu, engraved in the Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa yei (1750)	41
19. Tengu on Boar. From a drawing by Kokan, engraved in the Wa-Kan mei-hitsu kingioku gwa fu (1771)	42
20. Landscape from a drawing by Roren, engraved in the Gwa-to sui fuyo. Yedo, 1809	43
21. Facsimile of two pages of a Kusa-zoshi Novelette (c. 1840)	44
22. "Murder will out." Illustration to a Novel by Utagawa Toyohiro (1810)	46, 47
23. The Mad Woman. From a woodcut after Hokusai in the Hokusai gwa-fu (1820)	49
24. Reduced from a woodcut after Hokusai, in the É-hon Tsuzoku Sankoku Shi (1826)	51
25. Reduced from a drawing made for the engraver by Hokusai, c. 1820. (Ernest Hart Collection)	53
26. Gradation print from the Keisai so-gwa, by Keisai Yeisen (1832)	55
27. Views in Yedo. Specimen of gradation print in the Keisai so-gwa, by Keisai Yeisen (1832)	57
28. Scene near Yédo. From an engraving after Hiroshigé. In the É-hon Yédo Meisho	59
29. Reduced from a woodcut after Kikuchi Yôsai, in the Zenken Kojitsu (c. 1840)	60
30. Bishamon and the Demon. From an engraving after Katsushika Isai in the Kwa-cho-san-sui dzu-shiki (1866)	61
31. Napoleon at St. Helena. From the Jimbutsu Kaigai shoden (c. 1870)	62
32. From an engraving after Sensai Yeitaku	63
33. From an engraving after Kiosai. From the <i>Pictorial Arts of Japan</i>	65
34. From an engraving by Sensai Yeitaku, in the "Bambutsu hinagata gwa-fu"	69
35. The Tools of the Engraver. From <i>Japanese Woodcutting</i> , by T. Tokuno	70
36. The Engraver at Work. From <i>Japanese Woodcutting</i> , by T. Tokuno	71
37. Reduced from a woodcut in the European style, published in the Myako no hana (1888)	74

JAPANESE WOOD ENGRAVINGS

It would be hard to overestimate the debt which the world owes to the wood engraver. For upwards of a thousand years he has done for the great Turanian races what the type-founder and compositor have done for Europe during the last five centuries; and, throughout the civilised world, he has brought art as a means of pleasure and instruction before the eyes and understanding of millions of all sorts and conditions of men. It is sad to think that his labours at last are nearly ended, superseded by processes that modern science has placed within our reach and in which his trained eye and clever hands can take no part; but his share in our past progress will always be remembered with gratitude, and his works will be guarded amongst the choicest treasures of the museums and libraries of the future.

The art of the wood engraver had its birth in China, spreading thence to the nations which owe their ancient civilisation to the great Middle Kingdom; and it was not until centuries after the Chinese, the Koreans and the Japanese had mastered the technique of xylography that we in Europe adapted the art to our own needs.

Any history of wood engraving that excludes the development of the processes in the Far East is more incomplete than a history of glyptic art that ignores Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture, because the sculpture of Egypt and Assyria is a thing of the remote past, while Chinese and Japanese wood engraving still remains to us, for a little while at least, as a living art. And yet although few branches of art have been the object of more painstaking and appreciative research in Europe than

xylography, its Oriental manifestations, past or present, even for the professed student of the subject, have but the most nebulous kind of existence, and the reason is not far to seek. It is only within recent years that the antiquity and characteristics of the woodcuts of China and Japan have received any attention from Sinologists and Japanologists, and even at the present time the material available for the historian is far from complete. There is, however, enough to supply indisputable proof of two facts : that these two countries, with Korea as a third, were our xylographic precursors ; and that Japanese engraving has certain qualities which may convey useful lessons to ourselves. It is indeed probable that in a professional sense the wood engravers of China or Japan may claim a direct ancestral relation to those of the western world. Be this as it may, the story of the progress and practice of Turanian xylography is a missing chapter in the history of the art.

The outline now offered deals mainly with Japan, but a study of the early history of almost every Japanese art or art industry leads us back inevitably to China, either directly or through the intermediation of Korea, and the art of the wood engraver forms no exception to the rule. It is unfortunate, however, that the historical data as to its origin in the older nations are still very scanty, but it is desirable to give them the first place.

PICTORIAL ENGRAVING IN CHINA.

The history of block-printing and that of pictorial engraving are necessarily linked together, for, given a pictorial art as well as a literature in a nation that has just brought into use the art of printing from engraved blocks, a picture would be executed as readily as a letter or ideographic character, and would be cut on the wood whenever the need of such an illustration of the text might chance to suggest itself. Now, it has long been known that printing from engraved blocks was employed in China at least as early as the sixth century of our era,¹ and the processes then invented were identical with those practised by the

¹ See the Guide to the Chinese and Japanese typographical and illustrated books exhibited in the King's Library of the British Museum in 1887, by Professor Robert K. Douglas.



PLATE 2. FROM A COLOUR PRINT AFTER SUZUKI HARUNOBU (C. 1765).

Japanese and Chinese in the present day. Mr. Satow¹ has shown how quickly the advantages of the art were realised by the Japanese, and has presented to the British Museum copies of a Buddhist Dharâni printed in Japan before the end of the eighth century, and there is reason to assume also that the Koreans, through whom Japan has derived so many of the Chinese arts and sciences, had become possessed of the same knowledge some time before her insular neighbours.

Although we may infer that pictorial engraving on wood was contemporary, or nearly so, with block-printing, there is no evidence to prove the fact. The great edition of the Chinese classics printed in the tenth century contained no illustrations, and the oldest pictorial wood engravings now in existence date only from A.D. 1331. These appear as illustrations to a Buddhist Sutra treating of the Saving Grace of the Goddess Kwanyin, exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1888, and the carefully cut pictures, one of which is reproduced in Fig. 1, prove their engraver to have been no 'prentice hand. Curiously enough, the Chinese, although great makers of illustrated books in later centuries, do not seem to have ever gone beyond this early work in skill of execution. The majority of their cuts indeed are much inferior to it, and even the two famous volumes published in 1796 which represent their *dernier mot* in pictorial engraving are scarcely superior to it in technique. The works in question, descriptive of the cultivation of rice and the manufacture of silk, are extremely rare, but a photographic reproduction of both, as well as a careful copy by a Japanese engraver, are to be seen in the British Museum.

As a rule Chinese woodcuts are characterised by an angularity that contrasts strongly with the flowing graceful lines of the Japanese engraving, and there is never any of the effective use of masses of black that appears in the engravings of the eighteenth century in Japan. This inferiority on the part of the Chinese is perhaps attributable rather to the draughtsman than to the engraver, and indicates that the cause of book illustration has offered less attraction to the artists of the older country than to those of the later.

The art of polychromatic engraving by the use of a series of wood-

¹ "On Japanese Printing," by Ernest Satow. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. x.

blocks was known to the Chinese in the seventeenth century, and probably much earlier. An excellent example, dated 1701, an album of Birds and Flowers (*Ling mao hwa hwui*) in the collection of Mr. W. C.



Fig. 1.—Reduced facsimile of a woodcut in the Kwanyin Sutra. Dated 1331.
(Author's Collection.)

Alexander, was shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1889. This work was imitated a few decades later by the Japanese engraver Yamamoto Kihei (1748), and the copy appears to be the first book with colour-printed illustrations published in Japan.

· PICTORIAL ENGRAVING IN KOREA.

The Koreans, who appear to have drawn their civilisation direct from China, were able to second the Middle Kingdom in conveying instruction to Japan ; for numbers of Korean priests, artists, and men of learning are referred to in the early Japanese records as having settled in the country, and the traditions with respect to a painter named Kawanari, who lived in the ninth century, are of much interest. That they practised the art of printing from an early date, not only from engraved wood blocks, but also from movable metal types, has been shown by the researches of Mr. W. G. Aston, whose paper on the subject will shortly appear in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society* ; and an illustrated volume entitled *Sam-Kang-hèng-sil*, bearing the date of 1481, forms a part of the collection in the British Museum. In the cut reproduced in Fig. 2 it will be seen that the work is less skilful than that of the *Kwanyin Sutra*, but the technique seems identical with that of the older Japanese blocks. The later engravings of the Koreans do not appear to have been any better, and there is no reason to believe they ever attained any remarkable proficiency in the art.

PICTORIAL ENGRAVING IN JAPAN.

The date of the earliest pictorial engraving in Japan cannot yet be fixed. The first examples were probably executed within the precincts of certain Buddhist temples, where in old times the custom prevailed of printing copies of Sutras for the use of the priesthood and lay devotees. Some of these institutions were also wont to issue slips of paper bearing characters or figures of divinities as mementos to pilgrims who visited the shrines, and a number of pictorial slips of the kind are still in existence, some of which are signed with the names of famous priests of the seventh, eighth, and later centuries. One in the British Museum is ascribed to the famous Abbot Kukai, better known by his posthumous title of Kōbō Daishi (b. 779, d. 835) ; but this, like most of the others, can hardly be accepted as genuine. Many, in fact, are undoubtedly of modern manufacture, and were designed merely to stimulate the

fervour and liberality of devotees, to whom impressions were presented in response to a suitable offering ; but there is an engraved plank of willow wood still preserved at a temple in Shibamata which has a



Fig. 2.—Reduced facsimile of a Korean woodcut in the *Sam-Kang-heng-sil*, 1481.
(Author's Collection.)

reputation of a less assailable kind. It is attributed to the great priest Nichiren (1222-1282), the founder of an important sect of Buddhists, and is evidently the work of an amateur more skilled in the formation of

Chinese characters than in the delineation of the human frame, as the reduced copy in Fig. 3 will show. Mr. Satow (*loc. cit.*) refers to other blocks which go back even as far as the beginning of the twelfth century ;



Fig. 3.—Reduced facsimile of a wood engraving, attributed to the Buddhist priest Nichiren (1222–1282). (Author's Collection.)

but perhaps the most satisfactory are the series, one of which is reproduced in Fig. 4, signed by a priest named Riokin, and dated 1325, six years before the publication of the Chinese *Kwanyin Sutra*, and nearly a century

earlier than the German block of St. Christopher. The cut is of large size (the figure about 18 inches in height), and may be accepted as a fair example of the work of the priestly xylographer.

The history of Japanese wood engraving may be tentatively divided into six periods, an abstract summary of which is given on page 76.

FIRST PERIOD.

The First or Initial Period is a long term probably extending from the commencement of block-printing, but certainly not later than the fourteenth century, to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The work of the pictorial engraver was apparently confined throughout to the Buddhist woodcuts already mentioned, for although many block books were printed in the temples, none of these are known to bear illustrations. Further researches may however be rewarded by the discovery of facts that will necessitate material alteration in the dates of our periods.



正中二年十月
日
以五子氏
刻

Fig. 4.—*Agni Dēva, the Fire Divinity.* Reduced facsimile of a woodcut, dated in the 2nd year of Shochū (1325). Engraved by a priest named Riokin. (Author's Collection.)

The art, so far, was in its rudiments, for none of the pictorial efforts preserved to us call for higher ability than that exercised by the ordinary engravers of the Buddhist texts; and although chronologically the Japanese were in advance of the German and Flemish engravers by several centuries, technically they went little beyond the level of the archaic St. Christopher of 1423, and in no respect approached the powerful work of Dürer and his contemporaries of the sixteenth century. The pictorial engraver appears to have confined his labours to religious leaflets, and although he lived within touch of the masterpieces of the great Buddhist painters he manifested no ambition to reach artistic completeness.

SECOND PERIOD.

The Second Period begins about 1608, with the appearance of the first illustrated book, and ends about 1680 with the advent of Hishigawa Moronobu, the father of artistic xylography in Japan. Technically it was scarcely in advance of the term just described, but it was rendered significant by the effort to popularise printed literature through the introduction of pictorial embellishments.

The earliest illustrated book at present known is the *Isé Monogatari*, two copies of which are in the British Museum collection. The first edition of this was printed in 1608 and a second edition with some alterations in 1610, and we may infer that it was a work of some pretensions, from the profusion of the pictorial illustrations and from the quality of the paper on which it was printed. The illustrations, which are cut with only moderate skill and show no special artistic resource, are in the Yamato or native style, and repeat all the conventions of the school, even to the introduction of the fictitious clouds that were devised in the first instance with purely decorative intention in the painting of screens and pictorial rolls. Fig. 5 is a fair example of the work. The *Isé Monogatari* was followed by a number of other publications of a semi-historical character, amongst which was the *Hogen Monogatari* (British Museum Collection), dated 1626, containing illustrations in the Yamato style, but much more roughly cut than those of the earlier volumes, and distinguished by the application of a coarse hand-colouring not unlike that of the old English chap-books. The use of hand-colour-

ing as applied to book-pictures doubtless arose from the wish of the publisher to increase the attractions of the issue in the eyes of a public



Fig. 5.—Reduced from a woodcut in the *Isé Monogatari* (1608). (Author's Collection.)

who had not yet learned to appreciate the advantages of the press. The pigments, however, were garish and ill applied, and only rendered more

conspicuous the deficiencies of the engraver. It was not until the middle of the next century the use of colour in printing became at all worthy of a people so richly gifted with the colour sense.

A somewhat later work in the same collection is the *Jokio hiden* (1629), a pictorial mirror of instruction for girls. It shows no advance upon the *Hogen Monogatari*, and is of interest only as the first of the series of moral stories for the guidance of the young, that afterwards had considerable vogue. Illustrated volumes of this type were issued in considerable numbers; and the cheap pictorial novelette, the *Kusa-zoshi*, of which more will be said, made its first appearance about the middle of the seventeenth century.

As a whole this second period was not one of great achievement in wood engraving. The cuts in the *Isé Monogatari* and its successors were inferior to the contemporary work in Europe, and not in advance of that of China and Korea; but the publication of printed and illustrated books on subjects of popular interest was a movement full of promise—a promise that was well realised in after years.

THIRD PERIOD.

The Third Period, extending from 1680 to 1710, was essentially that of artistic book illustration, and the hero of this term was a dyer's draughtsman, afterwards a noted painter, named Hishigawa Moronobu. It is he who must be regarded as the important figure in the new popular school of pictorial art, for although the reputed founder of the "Passing World" pictures (*Ukiyo-yê*), the painter Iwasa Matahei, had some decades before set the example of abandoning the worn-out classical themes, in favour of representations of the life and customs of his time, it was only through the engraver that the new departure could be brought adequately before the eyes of the masses. It was Moronobu who first showed the possibilities of book illustration, and developed the series of albums or collection of pictures, which under Nishigawa Sukénobu, Tachibana Morikuni, Hokusai, and others were to play such an important part in educating the public eye and mind. He also illustrated novels, topographical works, poems, and other classes of literature; but it was in revealing how faithfully and boldly the work of

the artist's pencil could be transferred to wood, that he did most for his countrymen. We do not know who were his engravers, but it is probable that they worked under his immediate supervision, and it is even possible that some of his pictures were cut by his own hand. Nothing could be better in its way than the sketch in Fig. 6. Here are the flowing line of the artist's brush, the free and vivid rendering of action, and the



Fig. 6.—From an engraving after Hishigawa Moronobu (c. 1680). (Author's Collection.)

decorative use of masses of black that have recently inspired a new school of imitators in our own country. The woodcut was for the first time made representative of the art it reproduced.

Moronobu's books in the British Museum Collection include copies of famous pictures, drawings of landscapes and street scenes, illustrated stories, incidents of history, poetry, and in fact almost everything with which we are familiar in the works of later and better known men.¹ He did

¹ A list of the principal engraved works of this artist will be found, together with the first account of his labours, in the Catalogue of the Japanese and Chinese pictures in the British Museum.

not take advantage of colour block engraving, although the process had become known before his death, but some of his volumes were admirably coloured by hand, and in a style that recalls the manner of the artist in his original sketches. It is probable that it was the success of these painted books that led to the adoption of colour printing by Torii Kiyonobu and his successors a generation later. His principal works appeared between 1680 and 1701; but he lived many years after the latter date, and died about 1714 at the age of sixty-seven.

The name of Hishigawa Moronobu was adopted by a successor who imitated his style of painting, and the names of several other followers are recorded, but we know nothing of their work. There were, however, many unsigned book illustrations bearing traces of the manner of Moronobu published about the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and it may be assumed that they issued from his school.

Although Moronobu was the leader of the new departure, there was one later contemporary artist who took an independent and important part in the establishment of artistic book illustration. This was Okumura Masanobu, a less vigorous and original designer than the master, but one of high capacity. Like Moronobu he made a speciality of the *E-hon*, or picture-book pure and simple—albums of pictures without any pretence of text beyond a short marginal script—and he was the author of many admirable pictorial broadsides (known in Japan as *ichimai-yé*, or “single-sheet sketches”). He, indeed, may be said to have done for the broadside what Moronobu did for the book, for his work in this direction appears to have preceded that of the Toriis, the great broadside artists of the eighteenth century. There are three of his books in the British Museum Collection, and a broadside representing a figure of a young girl, drawn with a beauty of line that rivals the best of the work of his follower Nishigawa Sukénobu. The sheet in question is coloured by hand for sale, but some of the later prints published in concurrence with those of Torii Kiyonobu about 1710 have been struck off from two blocks, one in black, the other in tint. Fig. 7 is a good example of his manner.

Finally, two other names deserve mention—those of Haségawa Tōin and Ishikawa Riusei. The former is represented by the illustrations to

the *E-hon Hōkan*, published in 1688, a well-known collection of legends ; the latter by the *Yamato kosaku gwasho*, an annual of Japanese customs, issued about the same date. The engravings in these are no better than those of the foregoing period, but the books are of interest as the earliest of two classes which were afterwards to be developed in a signal



Fig. 7.—*The Three Saké Tasters*, a burlesque on an old picture, called "*The Three Religions*." From an engraving after Okumura Masanobu (c. 1710). (Author's Collection.)

degree by the more able hands of Tachibana Morikuni and Haségawa Settan.

In the same period were printed a number of panoramic views of famous places, engraved on wood in a somewhat coarse style, and folded in such a way as to be capable of taking the shape of a book that could be reopened when necessary into a long continuous sheet. It was probably a convenient adaptation of the *makimono*, or roll, and may have preceded the bound volume in date. This form, called *Orihon*



Fig. 8.—Crows in the Moonlight. From an engraving after Kōrin in the Gwa-shi Kwaï-yō (1707).

or praying-book, from the folding of the leaves like hands in supplication, is exemplified in England by the long pictures of the Lord Mayor's Show that are still hawked in the streets on the day of the procession. A typical specimen of the *Orihon* panoramas, published in 1689, representing Itsukushima and its neighbourhood, may be seen in the British Museum; with two other interesting works of the period, the *Kwaraku Saiken dzu*, by a pupil of the Hishigawa school, a forerunner of the topographical handbooks of a century later, containing views of the neighbourhood of Kyoto, and the *Tokiwa gi* (1700), a series of patterns for stamped and brocaded robes for women, perhaps the first of the many engraved collections of industrial designs published specially for the use of the artisan.

The popular school was served materially during the latter part of the seventeenth century by three painters who did not seek the aid of the engraver for the diffusion of their works. These were Honnami Kōrin (1660-1716), a great lacquer-painter and a bold and original decorative designer, who left a powerful impression upon the industrial art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; Hanabusa Itchō (1651-1724), a remarkable inventive genius with a dangerously keen sense of humour that secured him some years of exile; and Miyagawa Chōshun, an associate of Hishigawa Moronobu. The drawings of Kōrin were collected, and woodcut copies were published in album form in the present century by his famous follower, Hōitsu, but only two or three of his works were engraved during his lifetime (Fig. 8). Those of Itchō were reproduced under the direction of his followers in the second half of the eighteenth century (Fig. 9); but the memory of Chōshun, whose pictures are well worthy of preservation, failed to receive the same honour.

The existing examples of the Hishigawa period are not numerous, but they are very precious to the student of Japanese woodcuts because they foreshadow in almost every direction the remarkable set of works that were to come in later times, works that will be of constantly growing interest and value to the Japanese *littérateur* who in future years will have to recall to his countrymen the common phases of the picturesque existence which is now so rapidly drawing to a close.



Fig. 9.—The Menaicant Priest and the Wild Geese, after Hanabusa Itchô.
From the *Itchô gwa-fu* (1770).

FOURTH PERIOD.

The Fourth Period, extending from about 1710 to 1828, was both the longest and the most representative of the terms into which the progress of xylography may be divided. In this time the technical details of the art were perfected; colour-printing rose from its first and simplest processes to the highest point of achievement; and a wealth of admirable book and broadside illustrations was produced that rendered incalculable service to industrial art as well as to knowledge in nearly all its branches, and ministered largely to the healthy amusement of a people who are as thorough and hearty in their play as in their work.

As the period was especially characterised by the development of chromoxylography, the history of this branch of engraving may be considered first.

CHROMOXYLOGRAPHY IN THE FOURTH PERIOD.

The Japanese lay no claim to the invention of colour-printing as a process of wood engraving. Not only were they anticipated by the Chinese, from whom they doubtless took their first lessons, but the sixteenth century *camaieu* prints of Italy and Germany were practically identical in manner of execution, and displayed technical merit equal to that of the best Japanese engravings; but nothing yet seen in Chinese or European chromoxylography bears any comparison in point of beauty with the low-priced broadsides of Japan in the last half of the eighteenth century. If the Japanese were not the originators of this art, they were by far its best exponents.

The exact date of the earliest chromoxylographic prints still remains open to doubt; but it is certain that the Chinese preceded Japan in this as in so many other sections of art. The first application of the process in Japan is said to have been by one Idzumiya Gonshiro, who lived at the end of the seventeenth century, and made use of a second block to stamp certain parts of his design with *béni*, a red colour extracted from a kind of safflower; and Mr. Satow, quoting from an author named Sakakibara, refers to the printing in colours of a portrait of Ichikawa Danjiuro, the histrionic ancestor of the present leader of the Japanese stage, for sale in the Yedo streets in 1695. None of these



PLATE 3. ACTOR IN FEMALE RÔLE.

FROM A COLOUR PRINT AFTER KATSUGAWA SHUNSHÔ (c. 1780).

early specimens are in existence, and it may be doubted whether the so-called colour prints were not ordinary prints from a single block coloured by hand, after the manner of the *Hogen Monogatari* and the books of Hishigawa Moronobu, to which reference has already been made. The point is not of great moment, for although it is very probable that a few rude efforts were made at the time mentioned, it was not until about 1710 that the process assumed any artistic or industrial importance. It was then that an artist of the artisan class named Torii Kiyonobu, whose name must be set side by side with that of Hishigawa Moronobu in a place of honour, began to supply portraits of famous actors and pictures of various subjects of interest to the theatre-goer of Yedo, which were engraved upon three blocks and printed in black, pale green or blue, and pale pink; and originated a phase of popular art that took a special place in the favour of the people, and was destined to undergo great development.

Torii Kiyonobu must be regarded as the founder of the theatrical school of popular art, for no theatrical broadsides of artistic value are known to have been issued before his time. He was moreover a designer of playbills and of illustrations for the quaint little novelettes called *Kusa-zoshi* (see page 49), which were published in considerable numbers about the same time, and he is said to have been the inventor of the style of stage scenery still in vogue in the theatres of Tokyo and Kyoto. Few of the prints bearing his name have been preserved, but these are sufficient to show that he was an artist of great ability, and that his works were the model which governed the manner of the broadsheet designer of the next two generations, and influenced the whole of his successors down to the present day. He was born in 1688, and his work appears to have extended from about 1710 to about 1730, but the date of his death is unknown. One of his sheets, printed from two blocks only, was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1888, together with a novelette bearing his signature. The former gave a very favourable impression of his power.

The broadside artists did not confine their attention to the theatre. In addition to portraits of actors and scenes of theatre, subjects of all kinds were treated in single sheet pictures. Portraits of wrestlers and of well-known personages of the courtesan class, pictures of women and



Fig. 10.—From a woodcut after Tachibana Morikuni.

唐子遊

曰書太全曰婦人の乳子と嬰と云婦人の胸に嬰と云物を置くは乳子
 の子と懐くは抱けの仔なり是れ乳を食するより上りて女の乳と嬰乳と
 こそありて此其後より少き乳を食するはけり胎にありてあり



Engraved in the Ehon Shabo bukuro (1720).

children engaged in various occupations and amusements, street scenes, illustrations of moral anecdotes, history and folk lore, architecture and landscape, were all represented in our collections of early colour prints, but it was the theatres which drew forth the most ambitious efforts of Kiyonobu and his successors. Portraiture, indeed, was almost confined to the theatrical artists, for although some admirable and characteristic transcripts of the features of famous priests of bygone times have been handed down to us by the temple wood-carvers, there is scarcely anything deserving the name of portraiture in painting, and no example of it even in the works of the prolific *netsuké* carver. It is said that the figures of the actors depicted in the sheets really gave accurate impressions of the stage faces of the men who were so well known by almost every one of the populace in the great towns, but little was left to speculation, since the name of the person represented is always writ large upon the print. Were it not for this there are but few of the countenances, and those, too, only on account of the exaggeration of certain traits, that convey any impression of individuality to the foreigner. The dramatic rendering of action in the figure, however, is often magnificent, though sometimes extravagant, and in artistic strength of line many of the representations are unsurpassable.

The popularity of these sheets is easy to understand. The plebeian stage, which must be carefully distinguished from the classical *Bugaku* and *No* performances that appealed only to the culture of the patrician, was the most exciting and most delightful of the amusements of the hard-working and contented traders and artisans that made up the bulk of the population of the towns. A play too was not a thing to be disposed of in two or three hours, but a serious performance that went on from morning till night before an audience collected in friendly or family parties grouped in little square enclosures fronting the stage, and prepared to spend their whole day in enjoying the pathetic or comic impersonations of their favourites who trod the boards. The position of the Japanese actor (there were no actresses on the orthodox stage) was a peculiar and somewhat anomalous one. His professional fame might assume the widest proportions, his name might become a household word, and his features be as familiar and welcome as those of a brother for the masses from which his audience was exclusively drawn, but socially he was almost a pariah. The

townsmen whose passions and sentiments he could sway at will, and upon whose memory he engraved the noblest traditions of the past might regret his death or retirement as a public calamity, but there were few of them who would not have regarded any family alliance with him otherwise than as a degradation. As for the military class and nobles, every man of gentle birth who respected himself and his order, either avoided the theatre or yielded to the indulgence in secret. The player then was necessarily compelled to look for artistic service to a caste nearer his own than



Fig. 11.—*Girls Sketching.* From a wood engraving after Nishigawa Sukénobu in the *É-bon Tama Kadzura* (1736).

were the painters of the aristocratic Tosa and Kano Academies, and he proved a tempting subject for the new set of artisan designers ; for although a few artists of the popular school consistently avoided stage subjects, there were many, and of the most able, who were ready to devote their best energy and talents to the perpetuation of the features of the Garricks and Listons of their day.

The broadside designers also devoted some attention to the wrestler, who was a favourite caterer for the amusement of the public, but their

training in the traditional art canons had rendered them unfit to appreciate the grand display of muscular force, that often revealed itself beneath the hide of the athlete, and as they could make nothing of the heavy features and elephantine limbs of their model, the few studies of the wrestling arena that have reached us have little attraction for the art collector. This failure on the part of the artist to render a subject that might have appealed strongly to his European *confrère*, is an interesting contradiction of the theory that the magnificent creations of the sculptors of ancient Greece were inspired by the opportunities that these great artists had of studying the nude form. The Japanese artist had at least equal facilities and many worthy subjects, but not one of the men who in certain directions showed so perfect and instructive an appreciation for beauty of line, has ever made a serious effort to do justice to the matchless curves of the human figure.

It is, perhaps, in sketches of women that the popular artist was at his best. Not that he was naturalistic in his treatment. Nothing, indeed, that he did was more conventional, but his conventions were happy ones, and the result charming. Fortunately for his artistic limitations the long outer robe concealing the limbs of his subject delivered him from much faulty drawing; while the calligraphic training acquired from childhood in the writing school gave him a remarkable power of rendering the sweeping folds of drapery; and the play of colour and choice of ornament permitted by the fashion of the robe and sash brought into use all the lessons in design and harmony that he had learned from the works of the old masters of the classical schools. The gorgeously-attired women that form so conspicuous an element in the decoration of the modern fan, as well as the less extravagant and more attractive personages in the colour prints of Katsugawa Shunshō, Yeishi, and Utagawa Toyokuni are pure conventions, that bear scarcely any resemblance to the real Japanese maiden either in features, form, or proportions; but they are often very beautiful as an exercise of drawing, even in the works of Harunobu and Utamaro, in which mannerism is carried altogether beyond the rights of artistic license. Hokusai, too, had his conventions, but he was nearer to the truth than most of his predecessors (Fig. 23). On the other hand, the engravings after Kikuchi Yōsai, a man of *Samurai* lineage, show a dignity and refinement in feminine portraiture that had never been



Fig. 12.—From a woodcut after a picture by Mub Ki (a Chinese artist of the 12th century). Engraved in the *Ehon té-kagami* (1720).

attained by the artists of the *Ukiyo yé*, but these, too, were ideal creations (Fig. 29). In fact, although the representations of women will always be found the most pleasing specimens in a collection of Japanese prints, they are not the women of Japan or of any other country, but of the artist's imagination.

Landscape, birds, and flowers, the favourite subjects of the painter, appeared but little in the broadsides of the last century. It was Hokusai who set the example in landscape, in his large views of Fuji, which were published at the beginning of the present century; and Hiroshigé, many years later, made a speciality of serial issues of *ichimai-yé* recording the beautiful scenery of his native country; but the Toriis and Katsugawas, the fathers of artistic chromoxylography, left this section of art untouched.

The Japanese broadsides were published in sheets, one giving the whole of the subject, or forming only a segment of the complete picture. Most commonly three sheets were required to make up the scene depicted, but sometimes the number rose to four or five. The purchaser usually had these mounted and preserved in books or rolls.

The art of colour-printing was not confined to the production of theatrical and other broadsides. It was also used in the illustration of books, and in the decoration of New Year's cards (*surimono*), fans, umbrellas, and letter-paper, as well as for many other purposes; but the greatest variety was to be found in the *ichimai-yé*, although the book and the New Year's card often displayed more evidence of care in technical details.

The *surimono* or New Year's cards, which came into fashion in Yedo in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, are gems of chromoxylography, and display the technical resources of the engraver at their best. They are usually of quarto or octavo size, printed with great care on thick creamy paper, adorned with designs by well-known artists of the popular school, and bearing some little conceit in the form of a verselet or proverb. The best period is between 1800 and 1840.

Chromoxylography after Kiyonobu was carried on by men of the same school, including Kiyomasu, Kiyomitsu, Kiyotané, Kiyoshigé, Nishimura Shigenaga (Plate 1), and Ishikawa Toyonobu down to about 1765, when, under Suzuki Harunobu (Plate 2) and Torii

Kiyonaga, it reached its highest point. With Kiyonaga was associated Kiyotsuné, a less successful disciple of the school, and the Torii line closed near the end of the century with Kiyominé. The



Fig. 13.—A Chinese Sage. Engraved from a sketch by Kano Tanyu in the *Gwa-ko sen-ran* (1740).

blocks employed in printing were gradually increased in number to seven, and, although in later times as many as thirty printings were required to complete a picture, the added complexity of the process appeared only to

destroy the simple charm seen in the prints of the Toriis and Katsugawas, and the best results were gained when the number did not exceed that used by Kiyonaga and Harunobu. The colours under these artists had become remarkably tender and harmonious, the technique of the printing had advanced, and the drawing still preserved the qualities displayed by Kiyonobu, and gained something in style. So far, gradations in printing, afterwards employed with good effect, were not used ; but an uninked pressure block was sometimes brought into service either to give a damask surface to white drapery, or to produce an effect like that of *impasto* in the representation of the petals of a flower or the feathers of a bird, or for some similar purpose.

From about 1770 arose a new line, that of the Katsugawas. Its founder, Katsugawa Shunshō, deserves to be ranked with Torii Kiyonaga amongst the leaders of the popular school. He was a more vigorous but less elegant artist than Kiyonaga, and his works appear to have been more numerous and varied than those of any of his contemporaries. His reputation is founded chiefly upon his portraits of actors in character, but his drawings of women were as graceful as those of Utamaro, and less extravagant in their mannerisms. A fair example of his style is shown in Plate 3. His *Seirō bijin awasé kagami* (1776), a pictorial mirror of fair women, is perhaps the most beautiful album of colour prints that Japan has ever produced, and his collection of portraits of the hundred famous poets of Japan is also one of the treasures of the collector. A series of theatrical portraits printed in colours, entitled *Kobi no Tsubo* (1770), has more conventionality and less character than his other works, but is redeemed by the decorative effect of the colouring. This and the two preceding works may be seen in the British Museum Collection. The engraver of his principal works was Inoüyé Shinichiro.

Three pupils of Shunshō, named Shunjō, Shunko, and Shunyei, closely followed his style, and confined their labours almost wholly to portraits of actors and wrestlers. Of the others, Shunman, who studied under both Shunshō and Kitawo Shigémasa, was chiefly noted for illustrations to comic verselets and New Year's cards ; Shunchō, for prints of holiday scenes which are amongst the most delicate and pleasing of the broadsides of the end of the last century ; Shunwō, for miscellaneous designs ; Shuntei, for martial scenes ; Gakutei, for New Year's cards ; and lastly



PLATE 4. FROM A COLOUR PRINT AFTER KATSUGAWA SHUNCHŌ (c. 1785).

Shunrō, who worked for a time in the *atelier* of Shunshō, became known later to all the world as Hokusai.

The principal contemporary and independent workers with Shunshō,



Fig. 14.—Falcon. From a picture by the Chinese Emperor, Hwei Tsung (12th century). Engraved in the *Wa-Kan mei-gwa yen* (1749).

in addition to Kiyonaga and Harunobu, were Utagawa Toyonobu, Koriusai, Kitawo Shigémasa, Utagawa Toyoharu, and Toriyama Sékiyen Toyofusa. Kitawo Shigémasa is best known for his attractive drawings

of women in a book called *É-hon Biwa-ko*, published in 1780, the illustrations to which were in black and white, but showed the influence of Katsuguwa Shunshō to a very marked degree. He was the master of one of the best of the broadside designers, Masanobu or Kioden, whose reputation as an artist, great as it was, has been eclipsed by his contributions to literature. Toriyama Sékiyen is little known, except by an interesting album of colour prints engraved by Riokō Tōyei, and a curious book descriptive of Japanese goblins, the *Zokku hiak'ki* (1779); lastly Utagawa Toyoharu, who may perhaps be regarded as the founder of the line that was destined to receive the mantle of the Katsugawas, devoted nearly the whole of his time to painting, and has left few colour prints.

The generation succeeding that of Shunshō was little less brilliant. It included Kitawo Masanobu, Kitagawa Utamaro, Hosoï Yeishi, Yeizan Utagawa Toyohiro, Utagawa Toyokuni, and Hokusai. Utagawa Toyohiro is best known as the artist of some of the romances of Bakin, an honour which he shared with Hokusai; but his chromoxylographs, although not numerous, were equal to those of Shunshō for delicacy of outline and subdued harmony of colour, and his engravings in black and white illustrating contemporary novels equal those of Hokusai, from the purely academic standpoint, but have less vigour and character (Fig. 22). Utagawa Toyokuni, the greatest artist of the school, was the designer of an enormous number of broadsides, theatrical and otherwise. His style in figure drawing passed through several changes, from an early type in which the subjects, usually actors, are represented with elongated limbs, sharp features, and extravagant action, to a series of the most elegant and delicately coloured portraitures, male and female, that have ever been produced in his school. He also illustrated many books, and with his death in 1828 commenced the decay of the "broadside" industry. Both Toyohiro and Toyokuni were fortunate in their pupils, the former in Hiroshigé, of whom we shall hear more, the latter in Kuniyasu, Kunisada and Kuniyoshi, who rivalled their masters in industry and almost in genius. Kitawo Masanobu, better known as Kioden, was one of the most celebrated novelists of Japan, but the admirers of his chromoxylographic broadsides, all pictures of fair women, may well regret that his devotion to literature has robbed art of many precious works. His drawing was admirable in its grace of outline,



Fig. 15.—From a woodcut after a drawing with the finger-nail, by Shih Ts'ao, a Chinese artist. Engraved in the *Wa-Kan mei-gwa yen* (1749).

and the colouring, pitched in a somewhat higher key than that of Shunshō and Suzuki Harunobu, was almost unequalled in decorative quality, even amongst the beautiful works of his associates. Kitagawa Utamaro, a pupil of Toriyama Sékiyen, who has been honoured by a monograph from the pen of M. de Goncourt, is for many authorities the most shining light of Japanese chromoxylography. He has left two albums, both distinguished by the perfection of the colour scheme. One of these, the *Momo chidori kioka awasé*, consisting of pictures of birds and flowers with comic verselets, is technically one of the best examples of Japanese colour-printing, and may be noticed also for the bold use the engraver has made of uninked blocks to produce an embossing of the paper surface. The other, the *Seiro nenjiu gioji*, or Annual of the Courtesan Quarter (1804) is a specimen of his best manner; but his reputation depends mainly upon his broadside representations of women. These have remarkable charm of line, pose, and composition, but the effect is marred by the ungraceful mannerisms perverting the drawing of the faces and limbs. In colour they rank next to those of Harunobu, Kiyonaga, and Kioden. According to M. de Goncourt he died in 1806, at the age of fifty-two.

With Utamaro may be classed Hosoï Yeishi. This artist was a pupil of Kano Yeisen, a member of the classical Kano School of painting, but he devoted the efforts of his prime to designing coloured broadsides. He left one volume of chromoxylographic pictures, the *Onna San-jiu-rok' kasen* (1798), a series of portraits of the celebrated female poets of Japan, engraved by Yamaguchi Matsugoro and Yamaguchi Seizo, and it is interesting to note that Hokusai made his *début* in the higher grades of book illustration by a coloured frontispiece to the same work. His broadsides were nearly all portraits of women, as graceful, as conventional, and as unlike the living persons they were supposed to represent as those of Utamaro. Yeizan also was especially in repute for his drawings of women.

Hokusai has been named last, although as pupil and master his labours cover more than forty years of the period under consideration. Great as was his influence in the cause of popular art, his work had little effect upon the progress of chromoxylography, and it will hence be more fitting to speak of him in association with the book illustrators.



Fig. 16.—Chinese Landscape, by Kano Tanyu. From an engraving in the *Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa yei* (1750).

With these artists the palmy days of colour-printing drew to a close. The last of the masters Utagawa Toyokuni, died in 1828, and his pupils were the first to permit their designs to be dishonoured by cheap and gaudy pigments bought in the newly opened European market. His death was the knell of artistic chromoxylography. The story of its decadence will be told under the heading of the Fifth Period.

There are no coloured engravings in the world that may be compared with those of Japan in the long period from the coming of Torii Kiyonaga to the passing of Utagawa Toyokuni : the eye is beguiled by a brush stroke of ineffable calligraphic beauty and by a tender harmony of colour that cheers, but never wearies the senses. In most of the popular broadsides of this time an almost feminine gentleness pervades the choice of motive and its treatment, and it is but rarely, as in some of the earlier work of Toyokuni and his pupil Kuniyasu, that a stronger chord is struck. As schemes of dramatic decoration they are scarcely to be surpassed and have rarely been equalled ; and the time is not far distant when the sheets which brought to artist and engraver the pittance of a mechanic, and were sold for a vile price in the streets of Yedo, Osaka and Kyoto will rank in the estimation of the collector with the masterpieces of the engraver's art.

ENGRAVINGS IN BLACK AND WHITE IN THE FOURTH PERIOD.

Apart from the work of the Torii school in the development of chromoxylography, the first part of the fourth period, extending from 1710 to 1765, is marked principally by the labours of two men, Tachibana Morikuni (1670-1748) and Nishigawa Sukénobu (1671 to about 1760), both pupils of the most severely classical of the orthodox academies of painting, and both prolific artists, who worked in different directions in the cause of book illustration. The former is best known by his volumes of woodcuts, designed for the guidance of artisan artists, comprising drawings of birds, flowers, trees, landscapes, scenes of history and legend, in fact, every kind of motive that could be utilised by industrial draughtsmen—who down to the present day have continued to profit by his legacy—and he has besides left some specimens of his more purely academical work, in the form of a masterly series of quick



Fig. 17.—Swallow and Willow Tree. From a woodcut after Kano Tanyu, in the *Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa yei* (1750)

sketches in the style of his first academy (*Umpitsu so-gwa*, 1749). Sukénobu, on the other hand, although a contributor to popular art education in his *E-hon Yamato hiji*, which consists principally of illustrated legends, won his reputation by his drawings of women—attractive little personages with every charm that graceful and varied action, gently undulating contours, and clinging folds of cunningly-devised drapery, were able to confer, more natural in feature and proportions than the later sketches of Yeishi and Utamaro, but as devoid of individuality as the figures of a European fashion plate. He was nevertheless a true artist, and the woodcuts in his more noted albums are amongst the most pleasing pictures of his century. He also illustrated novels and a host of books of other and various kinds. The engravers associated with Moronobu and Sukénobu were Fujimura Zenyémon and Murakami Genyémon.

As a third, but later and less influential artist of the same class, may be named Tsukioka Tangé (1717–1786), who is reputed for his pictures commemorating the deeds of Japanese heroes of the past. He left also a book illustrative of the scenery of Eastern Japan.

Another characteristic of the new period must also be accredited to a pupil of the Kano school of painting, Oōka Shunboku (died about 1760, at the age of eighty-four), who edited the first three or four of an invaluable series of albums containing copies admirably drawn and engraved, after pictures by famous Japanese and Chinese masters. The earliest of these was the *Gwashi kwai-yō*, published in 1707, which was followed by the *E-hon té-kagami* (1720), the *Gwa-ko sen-ran* (1740), and the *Wa-Kan mei-gwa-yen* (1749), all still in use amongst artisan designers; and the good work was continued by Sakurai Shiuzan in the *Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa-yei* (1750), the *Gwa-hō* (1764), the *Wa-Kan mei-hitsu kingioku gwa-fu* (1771), and the *Gwa-soku* (1777). Some examples out of this mine of wealth are shown in Figs. 12 to 19.

There were few volumes devoted to scenery in this period. The *Togoku meisho-shi* of Tsukioka Tangé is perhaps the most noteworthy, but there were also many panoramic views of long tracts of country, hand-coloured, and made up into *Orihon*, or folding books, a series which commenced at least as early as 1689, and was continued down to the middle of the last century or later.



Fig. 18.—Pheasant and Bamboo. From a woodcut after Kano Tsunenobu, engraved in the *Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa yei* (1750).

ENGRAVING IN BLACK AND WHITE IN THE SECOND PART OF THE
FOURTH PERIOD.

The Second Part of the Fourth Period, extending from 1765 to 1828, was not only the palmy age of chromoxylography, but it was,



和州西巖寺古閑筆

Fig. 19.—Tengu on Boar. From a drawing by Kokan, engraved in the *Wa-Kan mei-bitsu kingioku gwa-fu* (1771).

moreover, stamped by the development of three new features in book-illustration: firstly, a remarkable series of topographical handbooks for the principal cities and more important provinces of Japan; secondly, the great extension of the illustrated novel under the writers Kioden, Bakin, and others; and thirdly, the important series of albums of miscellaneous sketches typified by the *Hokusai Mangwa*.

ILLUSTRATED TOPOGRAPHICAL BOOKS.

The *topographical handbook* in its more complete form is the product of the last hundred years, but pictorial representations of native scenery have been published since about 1680, either in the form of "single



Fig. 20.—Landscape from a drawing by Roren, engraved in the *Gwa-to Sui fuyo*.
Yedo, 1809.

sheets" (*ichimai-yé*), sewn volumes (*shomotsu*), long panoramic pictures converted into folding books (*orihon*), or rolls (*makimono*).

The typical *Meisho dzu-yé*, or pictorial description of noted places, is, however, a work of ambitious scope and of wide utility. It indicates all the spots famous for landscape beauties, collects learned records of the historical and legendary lore of the localities described, enumerates the

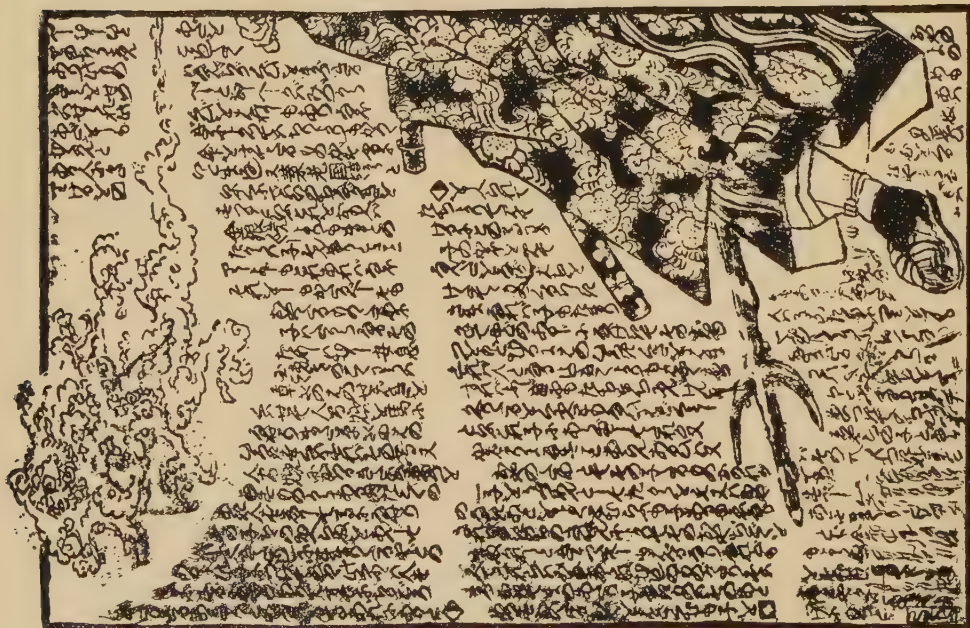


Fig. 21.—Facsimile of two pages of a Kusa-zoshi Novelette (c. 1840).

various objects of curiosity or archæological importance preserved in the neighbourhood, contributes scientific notes upon the flora and fauna of the district, and opens a fund of practical information as to industries, commerce, and a hundred other matters of interest both to resident and visitor. Each of the great cities and of the chief provinces had its handbook carefully edited and illustrated by the leading popular artists of the day. To Yedo (now Tokyo) and its environs were dedicated twenty substantial volumes; Kyoto had eleven volumes, exclusive of a large work devoted to its gardens; the Tokaido, the high road between Yedo and Kyoto, six volumes; the temple of Itsukushima and its vicinity filled ten volumes; and the list might be extended up to two hundred volumes or more. The first of the series was the *Miako* (Kyoto) *Meisho dzu-yé* (1787), illustrated by Takéhara Shunchōsai, who also supplied drawings for the handbooks for Yamato (1791), Idzumi (1793), and Settsu (1798).

Miwa Tokei, Hayami Shunkiosai, Nishimura Chiuwa, Hokkio Nishikuni, and some others contributed to the work in the first two decades of the present century, but the void left by the death of Shunchōsai was not filled until 1837, when the publication of the *Yédo Meisho dzu-yé* introduced striking representations of the scenery of the capital of the Shogun, from the pencil of Haségawa Settan. A description of the holiday resorts of the city, forming suite with the last, was issued in 1838, and a smaller book of a similar kind in 1839. Many other popular artists soon appeared in the field, and some guide-books, like the *Nikko-zan Shi*, included designs by several contributors. The latest of the more important "Meishos" were the *Tonégawa dzu shi* (1856), illustrated by various artists, and the *Kwaraku Meisho dzu-yé* (1859), with pictures by Hanzan Yasunobu.

As previously noted, the handbooks embellished by Shunchosai were not the first publications descriptive of well-known places. Views of Yedo appeared before the end of the seventeenth century. The *Kwaraku Saiken dzu*, published in 1703, contained good drawings of buildings and landscapes, and followed the *Kusa-zoshi* in placing the text upon the same page with the illustration (but in this case writing and sketch were separated by cloud-like outlines), the *Togoku Meisho Shi*, a description of noted places in Eastern Japan, illustrated by Tsukioka Tangé, was printed in 1762, and a number of *orihon* volumes with hand-coloured



Fig. 22.—“ Murder will out.” Illustration

あはれなき
哀傷郷の
まゝ野

野を
まへ
骨を
まへ
みの
まへ
なる



to a Novel by Utagawa Toyohiro (1810).

drawings in panoramic form were issued between 1710 and 1770. None of these essays, however, merit comparison with the handbooks of Shunchōsai and his followers. The *Meizan dzu-yé* of Tani Bunchō is an excellent supplement to the group of the *Meisho dzu-yé*, and contains many vigorous sketches of the mountain scenery of Japan.

The illustrations of these works as a class are very spirited, and, notwithstanding the absence of light and shade and the defects of perspective, conveyed a vivid and faithful impression of the scenes depicted. The figures introduced into the landscape, street, or building were admirably grouped, and the more idealised pictorial transcripts of history and folk-lore were well composed and told their story with good effect. The introduction of arbitrary cloud forms used for decorative purposes by the masters of the ancient Japanese school was adopted for convenience in the "Meisho" drawings, partly to exclude unnecessary details, and partly to secure a space for descriptive text. The picture, when large enough to cover two pages, was divided into halves, and where the range of view was unusually wide, the design often extended in segments over three, four, or more pages, a separate block being necessarily used for each page.

ILLUSTRATED WORKS OF FICTION.

Works of this class, commencing with the *Isé Monogatari* in 1608 and the *Hogen Monogatari* in 1629, were apparently in the first instance engraved transcripts of classical volumes which had previously been multiplied by manuscripts, and the illustrations were copied from the paintings that were made to accompany the written text. The woodcuts in both cases showed all the characters of the formal pictures of the old native or Yamato school, even to the introduction of fictitious clouds traversing the foreground, a convention originally devised merely as a surface for decorative masses of gold or colour, but preserved by the book artists at first in simple imitation of the model, and afterwards for the convenience of covering spaces in the design which he did not care to fill with detail. In the guide-book of the last hundred years the clouds are the *etceteras* of the draughtsman.

The early volumes, often works of some pretension, were of octavo



Fig. 23.—The Mad Woman. From a woodcut after Hokusai in the Hokusai gwaifu (1820).

size, but they were soon followed by others of a less imposing and more popular type. One set of these, consisting usually of semi-historical stories, were of oblong shape and duodecimo size, embellished by whole-page or two-page pictorial woodcuts; the other was a still smaller publication issued on very thin fasciculi, each with an ornamental wrapper and bearing cuts on every page. These novelettes, or *Kusa-zoshi* as they were called, were essentially popular literature—heroic, tragic, or humorous—and they were characterised by the strange admixture of text and illustration upon the same page, the lines of the text occupying the spaces in the picture that would usually be filled with background or accessories. The personages introduced into the scene were moreover distinguished by little character labels, generally placed upon some part of the dress, in order to relieve the reader from any difficulty in interpreting the compositions (Fig. 21).

A very early specimen, dated 1662, is now in the British Museum Collection. This contained roughly executed illustrations that bore a slight resemblance in style to the play-bills of the commencement of the eighteenth century, but in more recent books of the same class the work of the engraver and printer was more carefully done, and the list of artists included all the best names in the popular school, including those of Torii Kiyonobu, Torii Kiyomitsu, Nishigawa Sukénobu, Torii Kiyonaga, Torii Kiyotsuné, Tomikawa Ginsetsu, Kitawo Masanobu (Kioden), Rantokusai Shundō, Kitagawa Utamaro, Utagawa Toyohiro, Utagawa Toyokuni, Yeishi, and Hokusai. The quaint little *Kusa-zoshi* is now extinct, and its place is taken, sad to say, by commonplace volumes printed in the European style with movable metallic type on machine-made paper, and illustrated by process blocks.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the publishers reverted to the octavo form, and the first volume or fasciculus of each work, or section of a work, was usually prefaced by a few introductory plates printed from two or three blocks. These stories were of formidable length, sometimes filling sixty, eighty, or more volumes, and the sentiment of the text and pictures was apt to run in a rather fierce strain, bringing before us such an assemblage of ghastly murders, bloody combats, and ghostly visitations, intermingled with such feats of superhuman strength and ideal heroism that it was difficult to imagine that the books were created by and



忠臣蔵 十一目

哥之林 筆



PLATE 5. FROM A COLOUR PRINT AFTER UTAMARO (c. 1800).

for so kindly, gentle, and pacific a people as the Japanese trading and artisan community. The illustrations were contributed principally by Hokusai, whose most dramatic efforts are to be found in these volumes, by Giokuzan, Toyohiro, Toyokuni, and later by Keisai Yeisen, Kunisada, Yanagawa Shigénobu, and Giokuransai Sadahidé. Each picture usually covers two opposed pages, the block being sawn through and printed in

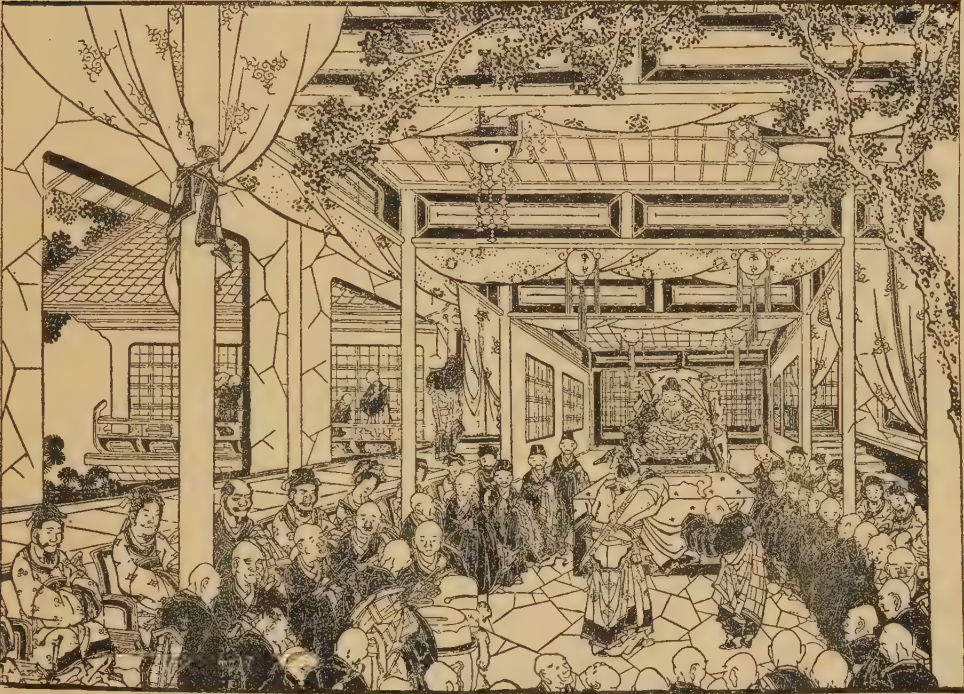


Fig. 24.—Reduced from a woodcut after Hokusai, in the *É-hon Tsuzoku Sankoku Shi* (1826).

two halves, so that a mental effort is required to establish continuity (see pp. 46, 47). In some illustrations, but rarely in novels, the subject may be even more subdivided, as in an album, entitled *Shin Kosha-bunko*, in the British Museum Collection, where the body and tail of a peacock spread in full luxuriance through five entire pages.

These pictures, however strange they may appear to us with their daring conventions, their mixed ideas of perspective, their disregard of

all the laws of light and shade, and the inexhaustible puzzledom of their motives, have many and great artistic beauties for all who will take the trouble to study them as they deserve to be studied. When we recollect that they were drawn by poorly paid artisans for the delectation of a public as poor as themselves, the vigour and fertility of conception, and the high and sustained quality of execution that they display, can win nothing but wonder and admiration. Let us compare the *Kusa-zoshi* with the contemporary chap books of our own country, or the novel illustrations of Hokusai and Toyohiro with the average pictorial cuts in our light literature of the early Victorian period, and we shall understand better the claims that the humble book artists of the Far East have upon the appreciation of their countrymen and of art lovers of all nationalities.

The leading figure amongst the book artists of the first three or four decades of the present century was undoubtedly the man whose name is best known outside Japan, Hokusai.

Hokusai, the son of a Yedo mirror maker named Nakajima Isé, was born in 1760, and seems to have lived in almost complete obscurity until he had passed the mid-point of an ordinary life. All that we know of the first forty years of his existence is that he had been a pupil in the school of Katsugawa Shunshō, and under the name of Shunrō had produced a few colour-print broadsides in the style of his master. In 1798, however, we find him contributing a frontispiece to Yeishi's ambitious volume of portraits of the female poets of Japan (*Onna San-jiu-rok'kasen*), and in the next few years he produced a valuable series of colour print albums, depicting scenes in and about Yedo. In this period he also drew illustrations for *Kusa-zoshi* (in one of which he appears as an author, under the pseudonym of Tokitaro) and drew designs for New Year's cards (*surimono*) in association with his pupil, Hokkei, and others. A little later he began to supply some remarkably vigorous drawings to illustrate the novels of his friend Bakin, and at length, in 1812, he issued the first volume of the *Mangwa*, a famous collection of miscellaneous sketches for the use of artisans and students of drawing. From this time his influence became paramount in the popular school, and in the period following the death of Toyokuni, he was the dominant influence in the world of artisan art. It is noteworthy that he never contributed to theatrical illustration,

despite his early training under Shunshō, but left this speciality entirely in the hands of the Utagawas.

The first European account of Hokusai appeared in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* for 1878 in a short outline of the *History of the Pictorial Art of Japan*, by the author. He has since been the subject of eulogy by many high authorities, including Mr. F. V. Dickins, who has published an English edition of the *Hundred Views of*



Fig. 25.—Reduced from a drawing made for the engraver by Hokusai (c. 1820).
(Ernest Hart Collection.)

Mount Fuji, one of the best of his works next to the monumental series of rough sketches (*Hokusai Mangwa*), M. Duret in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*; M. Gonse in *L'Art Japonais*, Dr. Brinckmann in *Kunst und Handwerk in Japan*, and Professor Fenollosa in an introduction to an exhibition of the artist's work at Boston. All are agreed that he was the most versatile, original and prolific artist of his school, and that his numerous albums and book illustrations have done more than any other

agency to further the cause of industrial art amongst his countrymen, and to make that art known in the rest of the world.

His colour prints published in the first few years of the century are less harmonious than the contemporary works of Shunchō, Utamaro, the older Toyokuni, and some others, and his drawing at this time had faults, especially in the ungainly proportions of his figures, that were greatly amended in his later work in the illustrations to the novels of Bakin and in the *Mangwa*. It is in the latter, and in the *Fugaku hiak'kei*, a *chef d'œuvre* of his declining years, that his virile and animated outlines appear to the greatest advantage. The principal engravers of his works were Égawa Tomikichi and the pupil of the latter, Égawa Santaro.

As a painter he must be studied in such a collection as that brought together by Dr. Bigelow, and recently shown at Boston, U.S. Professor Fenollosa, in his scholarly introduction to the catalogue, pays a high tribute to his qualities as a designer and colourist in the later period of his work, and believes that his defects of education alone prevented the full development of his genius. It must not be overlooked, however, that although a literary and artistic training on the narrow classical lines of his time might have made him a greater painter, there is even more probability that it would have stifled the verve and originality which give the savour to his art, and would have led to a life's work of infinitely less value to the world than that which he has actually given.

He died in 1849 at the advanced age of eighty-nine, retaining his powers almost unimpaired to the very last. With his withdrawal from the scene, came the beginning of the end of the popular school.

He left an artist daughter named Yeijo, and several pupils. Only a few of these, however, Hokkei, Shinsai, Hokujiu, Hokuün, and Isai have left any mark upon the process of wood engraving, and of these the first approached most nearly to the master in vigour and originality. Shinsai is known almost exclusively as a designer of New Year's cards.

INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN ART IN THE FOURTH PERIOD.

European art exercised little real influence in this period, but a painter named Shiba Gokan, who flourished in the early years of the nineteenth century, learned a little of the principles of linear perspective

from the Dutch, and is said to have introduced engraving on copper. His ideas of perspective may be seen in his *Gwa-to Sai-yu dan*, a book of travels with woodcut illustrations, published in 1781 (British Museum



Fig. 26.—Gradation print from the *Keisai so-gwa*, by *Keisai Yeisen* (1832).

Collection). The book-illustrators and scene-painters from about the same time began to adopt perspective, but used or neglected it in a

most capricious fashion, sometimes introducing vanishing points with fair accuracy in one part of the picture, while drawing the rest on the Chinese isometric plan, but never displaying any real study of the principles of the science. Hokusai's sketch in Fig. 24 is perhaps the best attempt to apply European teaching.

The fourth term, during which were produced most of the finest examples of pictorial engraving in black and colours, ended about 1828. It was followed by a period in which Hokusai, now associated with a new generation, stood pre-eminent.

FIFTH PERIOD.

The most interesting publications of the *fifth period*, extending from the death of Toyokuni to the death of Hokusai, were the later volumes of the *Mangwa*, the *Fugaku hiak'kei*, or hundred views of the Peerless Mountain, and many other books by Hokusai, which proved that the eye of the "Ancient of a Hundred Centuries" (*Man ro-jin*) as he called himself in his later years, had become more correct, while his hand had lost none of its cunning, and he still held his place unchallenged down to the year of his death. The *Fugaku hiak'kei* may be indicated as one of the best examples of the engraving of the period. His associates in the latter half of his career were Keisai Yeisen, from whose album of rough sketches Figs. 26 and 27 are reproduced, Utagawa Kunisada, Utagawa Kuniyoshi, Ichiriusai Hiroshigé, Haségawa Settan, Haségawa Settei, and Matsukawa Hanzan. Kunisada (who in 1844 adopted the name of his teacher, Toyokuni) and Kuniyoshi supplied innumerable designs to the publishers of chromoxylographic broadsides, which showed all the old strength of design, but for the most part ruined by cheap European pigments. They also illustrated several books, mostly novelettes and theatrical literature, but the *Kaibiaku yuraiiki*, an historical work, and the *Kuniyoshi zatsugwa*, are good examples of the work of Kuniyoshi outside the single sheets, which occupied his chief energies. Kunisada died in 1865 at the age of seventy-eight, and Kuniyoshi in 1861 at the age of sixty-one.

The establishment of an offshoot of the Utagawa theatrical school at Osaka was a special feature in the fifth period. This appears



Fig. 27.—Views in Yedo. Specimen of gradation print in the Keisai so-gwa, by Keisai Teisen (1832).

to have been developed through a number of pupils of Kunisada and Hokusai from about 1835 or 1840. In style of drawing the Osaka single sheets differ little from those of the Yedo artists, but there are certain peculiarities in the types given to the faces of the different actors that stamp almost all the representations, and the colours are generally stronger and marked by a greater predominance of yellow than in the works of the parent school. The principal names were those of Hokucho, Hokuyei, Hokushiu, Sadamasu, and Shigéharu. The publication of landscape broadsides initiated by Hokusai was taken up by Hiroshigé. This artist, originally a pupil of Toyohiro, at first followed the style of his teacher but developed a new manner before the middle of the century, when he commenced a series of views of Yedo, the Tokaido, and other parts of Japan, of great interest and often of considerable power and beauty (Fig. 28). His work is characterised by unsuccessful attempts to realise effects of perspective, and, occasionally, of light and shade, but his bold and original composition and vigorous drawing gave a high value to many of his designs.¹ Unfortunately, however, the value of much of his later labour in chromoxylography was injured by the bad quality of the colours used by the printers, and his true strength must be seen in his paintings. He died of cholera in 1858 at the age of sixty-one. His only rival in the delineation of scenery was Haségawa Settan, whose labours were confined to drawings for topographical handbooks. The *Yedo Meisho dyu-yé*, the *Nenju gioji daisei*, and the *Toto saijiki*, in the last of which he was joined by his son Settei, form the monuments to his talent. Amongst the last of the handbook artists was Matsukawa Hanzan, who left some clever illustrations to the *Kwaraku (Kioto) Meisho dyu-ye* and the *Saikoku sanju sancho metsho dzu-yé* (1854); and Yoyen Yoshitada, the artist of the *Zenkōji Michi Meishō dzu-yé* (1850). Lastly must be mentioned an entirely independent artist, originally attached to the Naturalistic school of painting, Kikuchi Yōsai, whose drawings of the worthies of ancient Japan, in the twenty volumes of the book called the *Zenken Ko-jitsu*, are superior in refinement and truth to anything of the kind produced by Hokusai, or his school. The portraiture of Yōsai were actually types of the patrician order, while those of the popular artists were either purely

¹ See an article by the Author on *Artistic Japan*, Vol. 2.

imaginary, like the women of Utamaro, or modelled upon stage impersonations, adjusted to the tastes of an audience from which, unfortunately, all the representatives of culture and gentle birth were excluded by the social law of the age.

This period in the history of wood-engraving fell below that which it succeeded, despite the valuable legacies bequeathed by Hokusai,

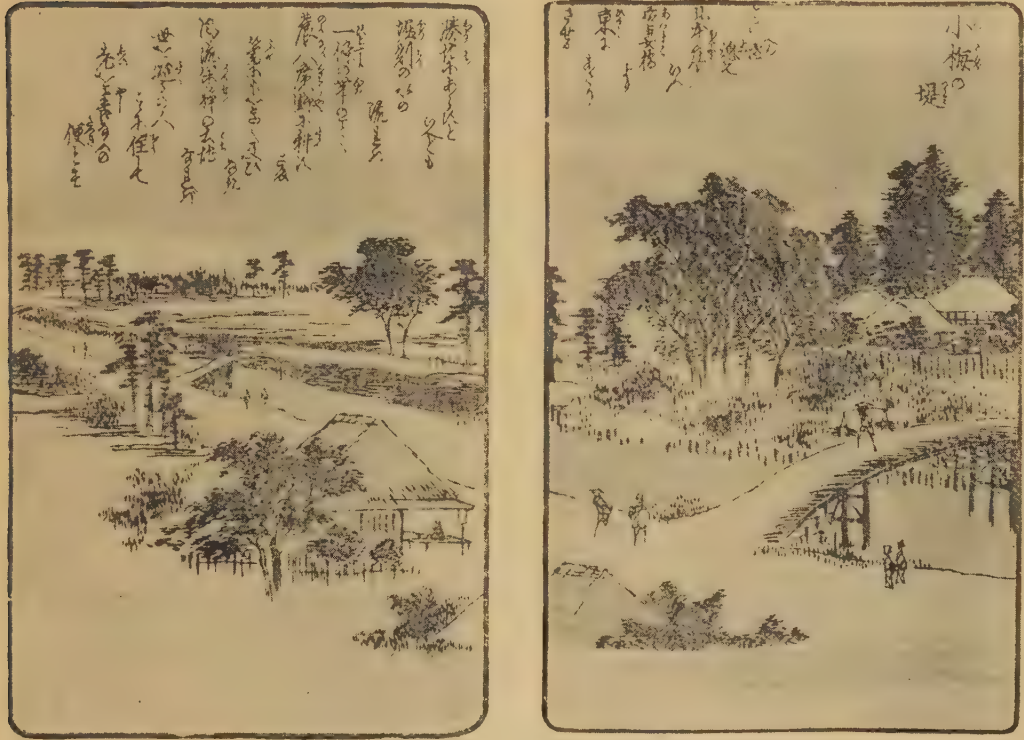


Fig. 28.—Scene near Yedo. From an engraving after Hiroshigé.
In the *É-hon Yedo Meisho*.

Settan, Yósai, and Hiroshigé, and with it the spirit that inspired these men seem to pass away ; for, from its closing years, the single sheet colour prints were becoming a very nightmare to the sensitive eye, and the albums of miscellaneous sketches, the pictorial handbooks of the towns and provinces, the vigorously illustrated novels ; in fact, everything that formed the delight of the xylographic collector came almost suddenly to an end. It would not, however, be difficult for those who

have studied the condition of the country in the disturbed period that preceded, and for a time followed, the downfall of the usurping Shogunate to account for the evil that had befallen the arts of peace.



Fig. 29.—Reduced from a woodcut after Kikuchi Yosai, in the *Zenken Kojitsu* (c. 1840).

SIXTH PERIOD.

Of the latest period, from the death of Hokusai to the present time, there is only a little to say. It began under very unfavourable auspices, for the albums of Isai (Fig. 30), the landscape volumes

of Hanzan and Yoshitada (see p. 62), and a few curious attempts to imitate European art (Fig. 31), were the principal issues between 1850 and 1870; but within the last twenty years an energetic revival of book illustration has taken place, and a few of the recent publications show that neither pictorial nor xylographic power is wanting. The "single-sheet" industry is still in difficulties, and may never resume its ancient glories, although a spur to effort in this



Fig. 30.—*Bishamon and the Demon.* From an engraving after Katsushika Isai in the *Kwa-cho-san-sui dzu-shiki* (1866).

direction has been given by the popular demand for pictures of the Chino-Japanese war; but in the volumes of bird and flower drawings of Bairei, the graceful fairy-tale pictures and collections of artisan designs by Sensai Yeitaku (Figs. 32 and 34), the albums of Kiosai, often called the second Hokusai, whose original and humorous work deserves a monograph to itself (Fig. 33), and the recent war broadsides of Gekko, there is much to redeem the failure of the earlier years of the period; and the encouragement given by Europe and America to the charming

series of children's books published by the Kobunsha Company has already proved to the Japanese publishers that good work may now be made more profitable than at any time in the history of their calling.

TECHNIQUE.

The main facts in connection with the technique of wood engraving are as follows: The picture, drawn for the engraver upon thin trans-



Fig. 31.—Napoleon at St. Helena. From the *Jimbutsu Kaigai shoden* (c. 1870).

lucent paper of a particular kind, is pasted face downwards upon a plank of wood, usually cherry—sawn in the direction of the grain, instead of across it, as in Europe—and the superfluous thickness of paper is removed by a process of scraping until the design is visible; finally, the thin layer remaining is made transparent by the use of a little oil and the work of engraving begins. The borders of the outline

are first incised—very lightly in the more delicate parts—with a kind of knife, and the interspaces between the lines of the drawing are excavated by means of chisels and gouges of various shapes. The block is then washed and is ready for use. The printer applies the ink very



Fig. 32.—From an engraving after Sensai Yeitaku.

carefully with a brush, and the impressions are taken upon specially prepared paper by rubbing with a flat disc (*baren*) worked by hand pressure. Certain gradations of tone, and even polychromatic effects may be produced from a single block, and uninked blocks are often

used for the purpose of embossing portions of the design, as an aid to the effects of colour-printing. The latter resource is seen in the works of Nishimura Shigénaga, executed about 1730, and was perhaps employed at an earlier date.

The effect of printing from two or more blocks was obtained in some cases by preparing a single block with ink of different colours, or with different shades of the same colour. This appeared as early as 1740 in some landscapes in the *Gwako senran*, where the distance is represented by pale ink, against which the dark foreground stands out in bold relief; and in the *Sōshisēki gwa-fu* (1769-70) and the *Keisai so-gwa* (1832) (Figs. 26 and 27) chromatic effects are produced by similar means. Sky and water gradations are effected in like manner in colour-prints, the superfluity of colour being removed, where the lighter shade is required, by the simple process of wiping the inked block with a brush or cloth according to directions previously given by the engraver.

In the ordinary colour-prints the effects are obtained by the use of a number of additional blocks engraved in series from copies of the impression taken from the first or outline block. The correctness of register is secured by marking the angles of the original block outside the lines of the engraving with incisions made in a certain direction. The angles are printed off upon the sheet bearing the first outline, and are repeated in facsimile in the cutting of all the subsequent blocks, the corner marks left upon the paper after contact with block No. 1 thus being made to serve as a guide for the accurate apposition of the sheet upon each successive block, the printings being all effected by hand pressure. The process is simple, but the rarity of faults of register in Japanese chromoxylography proves that it is efficacious.

The technique of the Japanese woodcutter is interesting, partly in its analogy to that of the early woodcutters of Europe and partly as an example of the perfection that a skilful artisan can attain even with the simplest and cheapest appliances. An authoritative account of the details of the process and materials will be found in Audsley's *Ornamental Arts of Japan*, and more lately a valuable monograph, written by Mr. T. Tokuno, the chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing of the Ministry of Finance in Tokyo, has been printed by the Smithsonian Insti-

—やまのうへ
岩井 糸三郎



豊国五



PLATE 6. FROM A COLOUR PRINT AFTER UTAGAWA TOYOKUNI (c. 1820).



Fig. 33.—From an engraving after Kiosai, From the "Pictorial Arts of Japan,"

tution, with a learned introduction and notes by Mr. S. R. Koehler.¹ It is chiefly from these sources that the following facts have been collated.

The Wood ordinarily employed is that of a variety of cherry, but *Tsugi*, a variety of *Buxus Japonicus*; or *Adsusa*, the *Katalpa Kämpferi*, var. *Japonica*, may be used instead. The planks, when planed, are about three-quarters of an inch thick, and in order to prevent them from warping or cracking they are sometimes strengthened by cross pieces attached to each end, unless the wood is thoroughly seasoned.

The Tools.—(1) A single *knife*, with which the engraver executes all kinds of work, with a blade of an inch to an inch and a half in length, and in shape not unlike a penknife, but more deeply cut near the point. The blade is fixed in a round wooden handle about three inches long.

(2) *Chisels* and *gouges* of various shapes, some to supplement the knife and used in the same manner, others to remove unsatisfactory parts for plugging. Five chisels and eight gouges form the usual outfit (Fig. 35).

(3) A *ruler* for cutting straight lines and for fixing the registering marks in the planks used in colour-printing (Fig. 35, No. 1).

(4) A *brush* for clearing away the chips detached by the cutting tools, shaped somewhat like a nailbrush (Fig. 35, No. 17).

(5) Wooden *mallets* for driving the chisels.

(6) *Grind stones* for the cutting tools.

Oil of Sesamum Orientale is used to rub into the plank to be engraved, and so to make the cutting easier and cleaner.

In his manipulation the woodcutter holds the knife in his right hand, and pushing the back of it with the middle finger of his left hand, first cuts around all the lines of the design, following the direction of the original brush strokes. He next removes the wood between the lines by the chisels, so as to leave the lines themselves in relief. The surface is then cleaned and washed by a small brush, and a proof is taken. Mr. Koehler points out that the method of holding the tool represented in Jost Amman's *Beschreibung aller Stände*, published in Frankfort in 1568, corresponds closely to that of the Japanese engraver, except that the European does not seem to have used his left hand in guiding the tool.

¹ *Japanese Wood Cutting and Woodcut Printing*, by T. Tokuno, edited by S. R. Koehler. Washington, 1894.

The materials used in printing are equally simple.

Paper.—Bibulous paper of various qualities and degrees of thickness is chiefly made from the *Broussonetia papyrifera*. The sheets are moistened with water before the printing begins, the amount of fluid employed varying with the quality of the paper. A single wet sheet is put between every three or four dry sheets until a suitable layer is formed, and this is then pressed between two wooden press boards until the whole has a uniform and proper degree of moisture. This can only be adjusted by care and experience, and it is essential to the success of the print, since the water colours used for printing tend to spread in the absorbent paper, and a small excess of moisture would inevitably ruin the impression. The sheet is printed on one side, and the leaf is made by folding, so that each leaf is double.

In *éditions de luxe* a very thick soft paper is employed, but in ordinary volumes it is much thinner, often so thin that the design on the other side of the folded sheet is more or less visible. In one volume (dating back to about 1700) in the British Museum Collection, the illustrations are printed on both sides of a heavily enamelled sheet. This is perhaps unique in Japanese printing. For colour-printing the paper is specially prepared by treatment with *dosa*, a kind of size, to prevent the tints from spreading.

Silk is occasionally, but rarely, used in place of paper.

Colours.—These were almost identical with the colours used by the painter, and were mixed with water and rice paste. Many were of native origin, others were imported from China, and in later years the European market has been utilised with disastrous results.

Black is Japanese ink. In the older prints this was commonly of a somewhat grayish tint; but a deep black was used by Toyokuni in his latest period, and appears in many of the modern broadsides. A black prepared from soot of pine-wood was also used in cheap prints.

White.—*To no tsuchi*, a carbonate of lead prepared in Japan. It is not often used alone, as it is apt to blacken on exposure. *Gofun* is a kind of white made by powdering calcined oyster shells.

Red.—There are many kinds of reds used by the printers. (1) *Béni*, a very pale pink, extracted from a kind of safflower called *kijomé*. It is said to have been the earliest colour print used in the



Fig. 34.—From an engraving by Sensai Yeitaku
in the "Bambutsu hinagata gwa-fu," 1878.

“*béni yé*” of Idzumiya Gonshiro in 1695 ; (2) *Shoyenji*, a pink dye imported from China, supposed to be cochineal. It is the principal red in the prints of the best period ; (3) *Shido* or *benigara*, red oxide of iron, prepared from a native ore ; (4) *Tan*, red oxide of lead, seen in

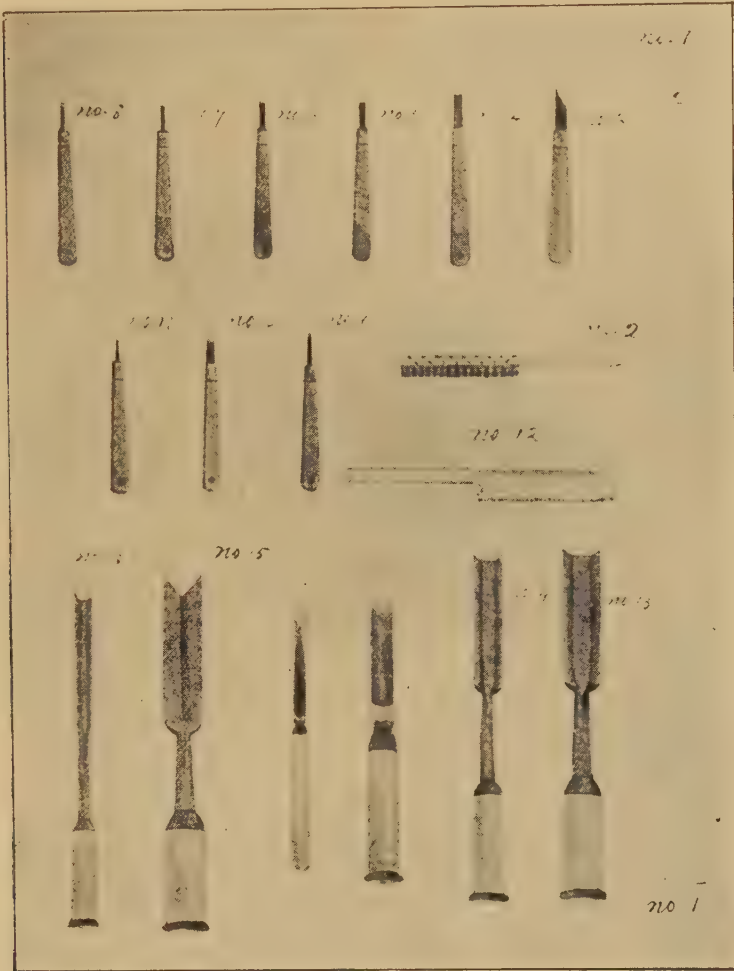


Fig. 35.—The Tools of the Engraver. From “*Japanese Woodcutting*,” by T. Tokuno.

many prints of the last century : it tends to blacken on exposure ; (5) *Shiu*, vermilion, originally imported from China ; (6) *Yodo*, a cheap carmine imported from Europe, and much used during the last fifty years.

Yellow.—In the old prints orpiment and yellow ochre (*Sekiwo* and *Odo*) prepared from native earths, but more recently imported orpiment and gamboge have been employed. *Shido*, a brownish ochre, made from a native earth, is also used.

Blue.—Blue carbonate of copper (*konjo*) made from a native earth, and indigo (*airo*) prepared from the *polygonum tinctorium* were used in the older prints; but the modern printers have largely adopted an imported Prussian blue (*bero-ai*).



Fig. 35.—*The Engraver at Work.* From "*Japanese Woodcutting*," by T. Tokuno.

Green.—Made from aceto-arsenite of copper (*rokusho*), or by admixture of blue and yellow.

Purple.—An admixture of red and blue. First seen in the later prints of Toyokuni.

Rice paste, employed as a medium and to give lustre. It is prepared with much care.

Size Solution prepared from gelatine extracted from oxhide by boiling, and mixed with a proportion (1 to 3) of powdered alum.

Mother of Pearl Powder, *Dutch Metal*, and *Copper*, *Silver*, and *Gold Leaf* are occasionally met with. The copper and Dutch metal are most commonly found in broadsides of the Osaka school ; the silver and gold leaf on the New Year cards of the present century.

THE TOOLS OF THE PRINTER were as simple and inexpensive as those of the engraver, but the clever fingers and careful habits almost characteristic of the race enabled the men to secure results that could hardly be excelled. All that was required were boards for pressing the wet paper, a printing table, two sets of brushes for charging the cut planks with the printing colours and for wetting the paper, a rubber or *baren*, knife and chisels to correct the register marks if necessary, an agitator for mixing the colours in a cup, and pads of cloth to be placed under the four corners of the block while printing.

The Baren, or rubber, is a little shield which replaces the European press, and is used to rub the sheet laid upon the inked block so as to take the impressions. It is made of twisted paper rolled spirally into the form of a circular mat having several layers of paper pasted on its under side to make it smooth and durable, and over these is strained a piece of the dried sheath of a bamboo sprout. The face of the *baren* is occasionally rubbed with oil of *Sesamum orientale* in order to make it glide smoothly ; but if, as rarely happens, too much is used, a greasy mark is left on the reverse side of the paper. No press is required, but the block is laid on a board, the further end of which is slightly elevated, with its corners resting on four small damp cotton cloth cushions to prevent it from slipping. These are placed on the floor mats on which the printer sits.

SUMMARY.

It has been shown that the Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese led the way centuries before the European wood-engraver came into existence, but that the higher development of the Turanian section of the art belongs to Japan and dates only from the later part of the seventeenth century.

It may seem strange that in an historical review of Japanese engraving so little reference has been made to the engraver himself. The reason of this is that the wood-cutter's personality is so completely lost in that of the artist that, although we know the names of the engravers attached to most of the book illustrations of the fourth and later periods, it is scarcely possible to differentiate between the work of one member of the craft and that of another. The business of the wood-cutter was to follow exactly the brush line of the artist, and so conscientiously did he acquit himself that a proof from the wood block could scarcely have been distinguished from the original drawing ; but he had only to define outlines and never to interpret in black and white the subtle effects of colour, atmosphere, and light and shade, and there is nothing to be said of him save that he was a clever and painstaking workman, who has ably accomplished a most delicate task and has rendered an invaluable service to the cause of art. To compare him with the European wood-cutter of the present century it may be said that the latter, to win distinction in his calling, must be an artist as well as an engraver, while his Japanese fellow worker required only the qualities of dexterity and patience, and was simply a highly-skilled craftsman. When he had isolated the sweeping strokes of the painter's brush his work was done, and the rest was left to the printer.

On the other hand, while the functions of the European printer of wood engravings demand little more than the ordinary training of a skilled mechanic, the Japanese printer was called upon to take an important share in the consummation. It was he who carried out the artist's scheme of colour, and many of the effects of gradation in chromoxylography, and occasionally even in black and white, could only be attained by an intelligent sympathy between the artist and himself. Every lover of Japanese woodcuts will recognise that much

of the charm of the more prized impressions has been contributed by the artistic feeling of the printer after the designer and engraver had done their work.

If we are to judge Japanese engraving by the effects produced, it is hard to assign its due place in the xylographic art of the world, on account of the imperfect evolution of the art it seeks to express. The Japanese painter clings to many a useless convention that has no

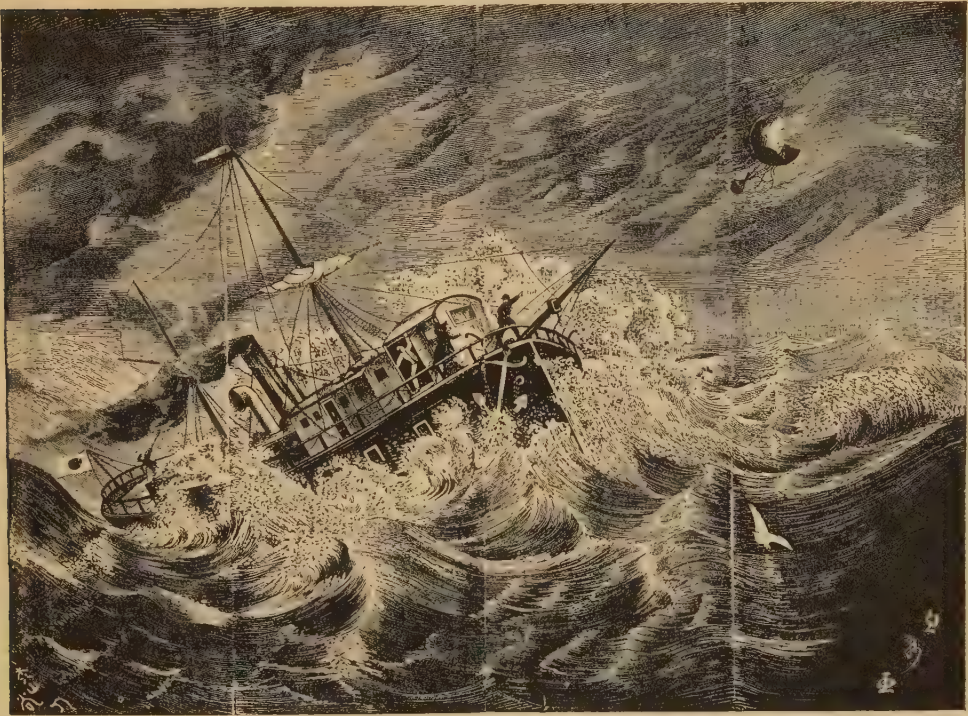


Fig. 37.—Reduced from a woodcut in the European style, published in the Myako no hana (1888).

foundation in nature. The objects in his picture must show neither shadows, projected or otherwise, nor high lights; his night-scene has no darkness; the water of his lake or river neither reflects nor refracts; the features of his men and women must conform to a set type; the limbs of man or horse are indicated by lines that caricature the forms of anatomy; and his perspective is inconsistent with optical laws. All

these defects in the principles of the painter's art must necessarily influence the character of the engraver's transcript and render the problem of comparison difficult and unprofitable. It must be enough to say that Japanese wood-cuts are distinguished by clearness and decision of line and a remarkably decorative use of masses of black, and in chromoxylography by a colour-harmony that we have yet to equal. Like the work of the artist in lacquer and metal, the finished engraving demonstrates that infinite capacity for taking pains which is so strong a feature of the national character. But when the workman quits his own models and attempts to engrave in the European manner, as in Fig. 37, he imitates with little skill or sympathy. For a new departure he requires a new education, and before he can acquire it the grand old art of the wood-cutter will have passed away.

It is a dismal conclusion to predict the extinction of an art industry to which Japan has owed so much, but the end is inevitable. The introduction of movable metallic types has been the first stroke of fate, for Chinese and Japanese engraving began with the carving-out of the elaborate characters that make up the script of the two nations, and ideographic symbols and pictorial illustrations have held together in close companionship nearly down to the present day; but the glorious old block-books that were enriched by the genius of Moronobu, Sukénobu, Morikuni, and Hokusai have now been replaced by type-printed volumes, on European or Europeanised paper, and illustrated by pictures engraved by the newest photographic processes. The engravers still find some work in chromoxylographic broadsides, and since the outbreak of the great war a market such as they never had before; but even this must end before the march of science and utilitarianism. A time will soon come when the engravings that bear the honoured names set forth in this history will be sought as eagerly by the art collector of Japan as the etchings of Rembrandt and Dürer by ourselves, and the Japanese historian of the twentieth century will regard the illustrated books and broadsides that will be jealously treasured in the Nipponese museum of the future as his best *mémoires pour servir* in recording the folk-lore, customs, and habits of thoughts of his people in the generations that preceded the era of the compositor and the photographic process-blocks.

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REPRODUCTION OF SIGNATURES.

1. Hishigawa Moronobu.
2. (Torii) Kiyonobu.
3. (Torii) Kiyomasu.
4. (Torii) Kiyomitsu.
5. (Torii) Kiyonaga.
6. (Nishigawa) Sukenobu.
7. (Tachibana) Morikuni.
8. Koriusai.
9. (Ippitsusai) Buncho.

- 10, 11. (Hosoi) Yeishi.
- 12, 13. Hokusai.
14. Manji (Hokusai).
15. Hokkei.
16. (Utagawa) Kunisada.
17. (Utagawa) Kuniyoshi.
18. (Keisai) Yeisen.
19. Hiroshigé.

For Nishimura Shigenaga, Suzuki Harunobu, Shunshō, Shunchō, Utamaro, and Toyokuni, see Plates I—VI.

For Okumura Masanobu see Fig. 7, p. 18. For Kiosai, see Fig. 33, p. 65.

The names by which the later popular artists are known are nearly all patronymics or *noms de guerre*, adopted in compliment to their teachers. For example, Kondo Jiubei, on entering the school of Utagawa Ichiriusai Toyohiro, thenceforth signed himself Utagawa Hiroshigé; Ichiriusai Hiroshigé, or Hiroshigé (the final name is always that by which the person is familiarly designated). As a rule the artist adopts the second character of his teacher's name, and adds to this another which he in turn transmits to his followers, but sometimes the first is chosen. Thus, the pupils of Toyokuni are Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, &c.; those of Kunisada are Sadatora, Sadamasu, &c.; those of Hokusai are Hokuba, Isai, &c. More rarely the whole name is taken, either during the life and with the consent of the original owner, as when Hokusai gave his name of Saito to Endo Hanyémon, who became Saito the Second—or after his death, as in the case of Kunisada, who in 1844 adopted the signature of Toyokuni (died 1828) in place of his own.

Other names, again, are founded upon a local or personal allusion, as Hokusai Wō (Itchō), "the Ancient of the Northern Window"; Hokusai, "the Northern Studio"; Man Rojin, "the Ancient of a Hundred Centuries," &c. Of such designations the person may assume several in the course of a lifetime, throwing one aside in favour of another as often as caprice dictates a change, and much to the discomfiture of future collectors of his works.

SUMMARY OF PERIODS.

FIRST PERIOD.

Ninth century (?) to 1608. Chiefly portraiture of divinities, engraved in the Buddhist temples.

SECOND PERIOD.

1608–1680. Early illustrated books, with roughly-cut pictures, sometimes hand-coloured, names of artists and engravers unknown.

THIRD PERIOD.

1680–1710. Artistic albums—illustrated books—pictorial broadsides—panoramic views. Rudimentary chromoxylography.

Principal Artists—

Hishigawa Moronobu and his pupils. *Books.*

Okumura Masanobu (1700–1720). *Books and broadsides.*

Haségawa Tōin and Ishikawa Riusen. *Books.*

FOURTH PERIOD (1710–1828).

Artistically illustrated books of all kinds, especially copies of old pictures, and volumes for instruction of artisans. Chromoxylography in books and broadsides. The second half of this term, from 1765–1828, is the best period of chromoxylography.

Principal Artists—

Tachibana Morikuni (1670–1748), Nishikawa Sukénobu (1678–1750?), Oōka Shunboku (d. about 1755, æt. 84), Sakurai Shiuzan, Tsukioka Tangé (1717–1786). *Book illustrations of various kinds, from 1710–1765.*

Torii Kiyonobu, Okumura Masanobu, Torii Kiyomasu, Torii Kiyotada, Torii Kiyoshigé. *Books, theatrical, chromoxylographic broadsides.*

Torii Kiyomitsu, Torii Kiyonaga, Torii Kiyotsuné, Tomikawa Ginsetsu. *Chromoxylographic broadsides, illustrations to novelettes, &c., 1750–1765.*

Nishimura Shigénaga, Ishikawa Toyonobu, Ishikawa Toyomasa. *Chromoxylographic broadsides, 1730–1765.*

Katsugawa Shunshō (d. 1792) and his pupils, Shunkō, Shunyei, and others, Ippitsusai Buncho. *Theatrical and other broadsides, chromoxylographic books, 1770–1790.*

Katsugawa Shuncho, Suzuki Harunobu, Koriuisai (Isoda Shobei), Torii Kiyominé, Kikugawa Yeizan, Kitawo Kosuisai Shigémasa, Tsubo Toshimitsu or Shunman, Toriyama Sekiyen Toyofusa. *Chromoxylographic broadsides, chiefly portraits of women—books, 1770–1790.*

Hosoi Chobunsai Yeishi, Kitawo Masanobu (Kioden), Kitawo Masayoshi, Kitagawa Utamaro, Utagawa Toyoharu (d. about 1810), Yeizan. *Chromoxylographic broadsides, chiefly portraits of women—books, 1790–1810.*

Katsushika Hokusai (Shunro, Sori, Saito, &c.), (1760–1849). *Chiefly books and New Year's cards, from 1790.*

Takéhara Shunchosai, Nishimura Chiūwa, Hokkio Nishikuni, Niwa Tokei, Hazamidzu Shunkiosai, Shitomi Kwangetsu. *Books, chiefly topographical, 1780–1800.*

Shimokawabé Jiusui. *Books, chiefly stories, 1765–90. Ishida Giokuzan. Books, 1795–1806.*

Shiba Gōkan (1747–1818). *Books, with illustrations in perspective, 1780–1800.*

Utagawa Toyohiro (d. 1828), Utagawa Toyokuni, 1772–1828. *New Year's cards, theatrical and other chromoxylographic single sheets, books, &c. 1800–1828.*

Utagawa Kunisada (1787–1865), Utagawa Kuniyasu, Arisaka Teisai Hokuba, Shinsai, Uwoya Hokkei, Katsugawa Shunsen, Katsugawa Shuntei, Katsugawa Shunwō, *New Year's cards, chromoxylographic broadsides, books, &c., from 1810.*

Tani Bunchō (1763–1830). *Landscape illustrations, &c.*

Hōitsu (1761-1828). *Albums of designs after Korin and in the style of the Korin school.*

Chō Gesshō. *Chromoxylographic albums*, 1810-1825.

Mori Shunkei. *Chromoxylographs, chiefly from Chinese sources*, 1810-1825.

Aikawatei Minwa. *Copies of pictures*, 1810-1825.

FIFTH PERIOD (1829-1849).

Signalised by the later works of Hokusai, the topographical handbooks of Settan, and the landscapes of Hiroshigé. Decline of chromoxylography.

Principal Artists—

Katsushika Hokusai. *Albums of miscellaneous sketches, &c.*

Keisai Yeisen, Giokuransai Sadahidé, Yanagawa Shigénobu, and Ōishi Matora (1787-1842). *Chromoxylographic broadsides (non-theatrical), books*, 1825-1840.

Haségawa Settan, Haségawa Settei. *Topographical handbooks*, 1830-1840.

Otagiri Tadachika, Matsugawa Hanzan Yasunobu, Yashima Sadaoka, Yoyen Yoshitada, *Topographical handbooks*, 1840-1860.

Hiroshigé (Kondo Jiubei) (1797-1858). *Chromoxylographic broadsides, chiefly landscape; books.*

Utagawa Kunisada, Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1800-1861). *Chromoxylographic broadsides, books.*

Hokushiu, Hokuyei, Hokucho, Sadamasu, Sadahiro. (Osaka School.) *Theatrical chromoxylographs* (1840-1860).

Kikuchi Yōsai (1787-1878). *Portraits of ancient celebrities.*

Hokujiu, Hokuto, Hokuba, Hokuūn, Shinsai, Yanagawa Shigémasa, Numata Gessai (1787-1864), followers of Hokusai. *Books*, 1825-1860.

SIXTH PERIOD (1849 TO PRESENT DAY).

Continued decline of single sheet chromoxylography. Decline of original book illustrations. Book illustrations in imitation of "European" manner.

Principal Artists—

Katsushika Isai. *Albums and illustrated books in the style of Hokusai.*

Kawanabé Kiosai (born 1831, d. 1890). *Albums of various kinds, chiefly comic*, from 1860.

Sensai Yeitaku. *Albums and book illustrations*, from 1878.

Bairei. *Albums of birds and flowers*, from 1880.

Gekko. *Chromoxylographic broadsides*, recent.

The seven leaders in the development of Japanese wood engraving are Hishigawa Moronobu, Torii Kiyonobu, Tachibana Morikuni, Nishigawa Sukénobu, Katsugawa Shunshō, Utagawa Toyokuni, and Hokusai.

INDEX

ASTON, MR. W. G., on Korean books, 9
Audsley's *Ornamental Arts of Japan*, 64

Bairei, 61
Brinckmann, Dr., on Hokusai, 53

Chinese Pictorial Engraving, history, 6
Chōshun, Miyagawa, 20
Chromoxylography in the Fourth Period, 22
Colours used in Printing, 67
Critical Summary, 71

Decadence of Japanese Engraving, 74
Dickins, Mr. F. V., on Hokusai, 53
Duret, M., on Hokusai, 53

Ēgawa Santaro, 54
Ēgawa Tomikichi, 54
"Ehon hokan," 18
"Ē-hon té-kagami," 40
"Ē-hon Yamato hiji," 40
European Art. Influence in Fourth Period, 54

Fenollosa, Professor, on Hokusai, 53
Fifth Period of Japanese Engraving, 56
First Period of Engraving, 12
Fourth Period of Engraving, 22
"Fugaku hiak'kei," 56
Fujimura Zenyemon, 40

Gakutei, 32
Genyémon, Murakami, 40
Ginsetsu, Tomikawa, 50
Giokuransai Sadahidé, 51
Giokuyan Ishida, 51
Gokan, Shiba, 54
Goncourt, M. de, on Utamaro, 36
Gonse, M., on Hokusai, 53
Gonshiro, Idzumiya, 22
"Gwa-ho," 40
"Gwa-ko sen-ran," 40, 64
"Gwashi kwai-yo," 40
"Gwa-soku," 40
"Gwa-to-Sai-yu dan," 55

Hanabusa Itchō, 20
Hanzan Matsukawa, 58
Hanzan Yasunobu, 45
Haségawa Settan, 58
"Settei, 58
Haségawa Tōin, 17
Hayami Shunkiosai, 45
Hiroshigé, 58
Hishigawa Moronobu, 15
"Hōgen Monogatari," 13, 48
Hōitsu, 20
Hokkei, 54
Hokucho, 58
Hokujiu, 54
Hokusai, 36, 50, 52
"Hokusai Mangwa," 56

Hokushiu, 58
Hokutin, 54
Hokuyei, 58
Hosoi Yeishi, 36, 50

"Ichimai-yé," 43
Ichiriusai Hiroshigé, 58
Idzumiya Gonshiro, 22
Inotiyé Shinichiro, 32
Isai, Katsushika, 54
"Isé Monogatari," 13, 48
Ishida Giokuzan, 51
Iskikawa Riusen, 17
Ishikawa Toyonobu, 30
Itchō, Hanabusa, 20

Japanese Engraver, compared with European, 72
Japanese pictorial engraving, history, 9
Japanese printer, 72

"Kaibiaku yu-raiki," 56
Katsugawa Shunshō, 32
"Shunko, 32
"Shunyei, 32
"Shunjō, 32
"Shunchō, 32
"Shunwo, 32
"Shuntei, 32
Katsushika Hokusai, 52
"Isai, 54
"Keisai so-gwa," 64
Keisai Yeisen, 51
Kihei, Yamamoto, 8
Kikuchi Yōsai, 58
Kikugawa Yeizan, 36
Kitagawa Utamaro, 36, 50
Kita-wo Shigémasa, 33, 34
"Masanobu (Kioden), 50
"Keisai Masayoshi, 77

Kioden, 34, 50
Kiosai, 1, 61
"Kobi no Tsubo," 32
Kōbō Daishi, 9
Korean Pictorial Engraving, 9
Kōrin, Honnami, 20
Koriusai, 33
Kunisada, Utagawa, 51, 56
Kuniyoshi, Utagawa, 56
"Kuniyoshi Yatsugwa," 51
"Kusa-zoshi," 50
"Kwanyin Sutra," 8
"Kwaraku Meisho dzu-yé," 45, 58
"Kwaraku Saiken dzu," 20, 45

"Man ro-jin" (Hokusai), 56
Masanobu, Kitawo, 50
Masanobu, Okumura, 17
Masayoshu, Kitawo Keisai, 77
Matsugoro, Yamaguchi, 36
Matsukawa Hanzan, 48
"Meizan dzu-yé," 98

- "Miako Meisho dzu-yé," 45
 Miyagawa Chōshun, 20
 "Momo chidori kioka awasé," 36
 Morikuni, Taihibana, 38
 Moronobu, Hishigawa, 15
 Murakami Genyémon, 40

 "Nenjiu gioji daisei," 58
 New Year's Cards (*Surimono*), 30
 Nichiren, 10
 "Nikko-zan Shi," 45
 Nishigawa Sukénobu, 38, 50
 Nishimura Shigenaga, 30
 "Noms de guerre," of popular artists, 76

 Okumura Masanobu, 17
 "Onna San-jiu-rok'kasen," 36, 52
 Oōka Shunboku, 40
 "Orihon," 18, 43
 Osaka broadsides, 58

 Paper used in printing engravings, 67
 Periods of engraving—
 First, 12
 Second, 13
 Third, 15
 Fourth, 22
 Fifth, 56
 Sixth, 60

 Rantokusai Shundō, 50
 Riokin, 11
 Rioko Toyei, 34
 Riusen, Ishikawa, 17

 Sadahidé, Giokuransai, 51
 Sadamasu, 58
 "Saikoku sanjiu sancho meisho dzu-yé," 58
 "Sam-Kang-heng-sil," 9
 Satow, Mr. E. M., on Wood Engraving, 11; on
 Japanese printing, 22
 Second Period of Engraving, 13
 "Seirō bijin awasé kagami," 32
 "Shiro nenjiugioji," 36
 Seizo, Yamaguchi, 36
 Sensai Yeitaku, 61
 Settan, Haségawa, 45, 58
 Settei, Haségawa, 58
 Shiba Gokan, 54
 Shigéharu, 58
 Shigenaga, Nishimura, 30
 Shigénobu, Yanagawa, 51
 Shinichiro, Moiyé, 32
 "Shin Kosha bunko," 51
 Shinsai, 54
 "Shomotsu," 43
 Shunboku, Ooka, 40
 Shunchō, Katsugawa, 32
 Shundō, Rantokusai, 50
 Shunjō, Katsugawa, 32
 Shunkiosai, Hayami, 45
 Shunko, Katsugawa, 32
 Shunman, Isoda Shobei, 32
 Shunrō, 32
 Shuntei, Katsugawa, 32
 Shunwō Katsugawa, 32
 Shunyei, Katsugawa, 32
 Signatures, Remarks on, 75
 Sixth Period of Engraving, 60
 Size Solution, 71

 "Soshiséki gwa-fu," 64
 Sukenobu, Nishigawa, 38, 50
 Summary of Periods of Engraving 7
 Surimono, 30
 Suzuki Harunobu, 30

 Tachibana Morikuni, 38
 Tangé, Tsukioka, 40
 Technique of Japanese Woodcutting, 62
 Theatrical broadsides, 23
 Third Period of Engraving, 15
 Tsukioka Tangé, 40
 "Tōgoku meisho-shi," 40, 45
 "Tokiwa gi," 20
 Tokuno, Mr. T., on Japanese Woodcutting, 64
 Tomikawa Ginsetsu, 50
 "Tonégawa dzu shi," 45
 Tools of engraver, 66
 Tools of printer, 71
 Topographical handbooks, 43
 Torii Kiyonobu, 23, 50
 ,, Kiyomasu, 30
 ,, Kiyotané, 30
 ,, Kiyoshigé, 30
 ,, Kiyomitsu, 30, 50
 ,, Kiyonaga, 30, 50
 ,, Kiyotsuné, 31, 50
 ,, Kiyominé, 31
 Toriyama Sékiyen Toyofusa, 33
 "Toto saijiki," 58
 Tōün, Haségawa, 17
 Toyei, Rioko, 34
 Toyofusa, Toriyawa Sékiyen, 33
 Toyohiro, Utagawa, 50
 Toyokuni, Utagawa, 50
 Toyonobu, Ishikawa, 30

 "Umpitsu so-gwa," 40
 Utagawa Toyonobu, 33
 ,, Toyoharu, 33, 34
 ,, Toyohiro, 34, 50
 ,, Toyokuni, 34, 38, 50
 ,, Kuniyasu, 50
 ,, Kunisada, 51, 56
 ,, Kuniyoshi, 56
 Utamaro, Kitagawa, 50

 "Wa-Kan mei-gwa-yen," 40
 "Wa-Kan mei-hitsu gwa-yei," 40
 "Wa-Kan mei-hitsu kingioku gwa-fu," 40
 Wood employed by engraver, 66

 Yamaguchi Matsugoro, 36
 ,, Seizo, 36
 Yamamoto Kihei, 8
 "Yamato kosaku gwashō," 18
 Yanagawa Shigénobu, 51
 Yasunobu, Hanzan, 45
 "Yédo Meisho dzu-yé," 45, 58
 Yeijo, 54
 Yeishi, Hosoï, 50
 Yeizan, Kikugawa, 50
 Yōsai, Kikuchi, 58
 Yoshitada, Yoyen, 58
 Yoyen Yoshitada, 58

 "Zenken Ko-jitsu," 58
 "Zenkoji Michi Meisho dzu-yé," 58
 Zenyémon, Fujimaro, 40
 "Zokku hiak'ki," 34



L'Amour au théâtre français.

ANTOINE WATTEAU

By

CLAUDE PHILLIPS

Author of "Sir Joshua Reynolds," "Frederick Walker," &c.



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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	PAGE
L'Amour au théâtre français	<i>Frontispiece</i>
L'Embarquement pour Cythère	<i>to face</i> 60
L'Enseigne de Gersaint	,, ,, 80

COLOURED ILLUSTRATIONS

Studies of a Man playing on the Guitar	,, ,, 30
Studies of Ladies' Heads	,, ,, 32
Two Girls' Heads for "Sous un habit de Mezzetin"	,, ,, 40
Studies of Ladies seated on the Ground	,, ,, 54

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

Study of Costume, by Watteau. From the "Figures de Modes"	17
"Le Dénicheur de Moineaux," by Watteau. From the engraving by Boucher . .	18
Nikou, femme Bonze. Engraved by Boucher from the decoration by Watteau in the Château de la Muette	19
"Poisson en habit de Paysan," by Watteau. From the "Figures Françaises et Comiques"	20
Les Délassements de la Guerre, by Watteau. From the engraving by Crépy fils .	29
Study in Three Chalks, by Watteau. From the Collection in the British Museum	33
Turkish Servant with Dish. From the drawing by Watteau in the British Museum	35

	PAGE
A Beggar Woman with her Alms Box. From the drawing by Watteau in the British Museum	37
"Sous un Habit de Mezzetin," by Watteau. From the engraving by Thomassin fils	39
L'Amour Paisible, by Watteau. From the picture in the Royal Collection at Potsdam. By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie	43
Portrait of Watteau by himself. From the engraving by Boucher	49
Les Champs Elysées by Watteau. From the engraving by N. Tardieu	57
La Danse ("Iris, c'est de bonne heure"), by Watteau. From the anonymous engraving	58
Divertissement Champêtre ("Das Liebesfest"), by Watteau. From the picture in the Dresden Gallery. By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie . . .	63
La Finette by Watteau. From the picture in the La Caze Collection at the Louvre. By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie	65
Gilles, by Watteau. From the picture in the La Caze Collection at the Louvre. By permission of Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie	71
Fêtes Vénitiennes, by Watteau. From the picture in the National Gallery of Scotland	75
Portrait of Rosalba Carriera, by Watteau. From the engraving by J. M. Liotard .	79

ANTOINE WATTEAU

CHAPTER I

“O ciseaux enrubannés de Watteau, quel joli royaume de coquetterie vous tailliez dans le royaume embéguiné de la Maintenon!”

EDMOND ET JULES DE GONCOURT.

THOSE who, not content with submitting to the irresistible fascination of Watteau—that greatest of small masters, whose art influenced and coloured the eighteenth century as did the art of no other painter—strive to follow out the successive developments of his style, and to give colour and solidity to the mere outline of his figure which is before us, find the way still barred by many difficulties. It is not that sources of authority are lacking, for these exist in profusion, even when we have put aside the accumulation of romantic legend and anecdote which modern criticism has now discredited, without, however, in all cases, replacing the rainbow-bubbles of conjecture by something more solid and enduring. These authorities throw a sufficiently vivid light on certain salient points in the career of the pensive painter of gaiety, but leave in the most annoying fashion other wide spaces in dim half-light, or even in complete obscurity. The natural result is that the genesis and progressive developments of the master's art have been not so much ascertained as guessed at, and that his human as distinguished from his artistic personality still remains in shadow. This side of the subject—the shadowing forth of the real individuality which we even now so imperfectly know, the reconstruction of the true man from his work—is beyond doubt full of fascination, but also of peril. It affords so wide and so unfenced a field for that conjecture with which modern criticism of the so-called psychological order loves to surround what it examines. All the more must one in approaching it be careful not to lend to the artist who was born

when the *Grand Siècle* was ending, and lived when the eighteenth century was yet in its youth, too much of the nineteenth century languor and the nineteenth century self-consciousness and introspection.

It must be conceded that the revival of the interest in Watteau, the artist and the man, of a desire for the serious study and comprehension of his art as a whole, is due in a great measure to the brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt; although in qualification of this statement it would be unjust not to recall, while omitting many things that could be cited, the exquisitely true, and in the real sense of the word instructive criticisms of Bürger (T. Thoré)—especially on the Watteaus which entered the Louvre with the La Caze Collection—and the memorable page of description which Théophile Gautier accords to the painter's masterpiece, the *Embarquement pour Cythère* of the Louvre. It was the rare good fortune, moreover, of the Goncourts to unearth and republish, as an appendix to the sparkling essay on their favourite painter, the lost *Vie d'Antoine Watteau, peintre de Figures et de Paysages, Sujets galants et modernes*, read to the Royal French Academy of Painting and Sculpture on the 3rd of February, 1748, by the artist's whilom friend, the Comte de Caylus. This discourse, too measured and frigid in its praise to be called a panegyric, too superficial, too little intelligent in its criticism to have much value as an appreciation, is nevertheless of the greatest importance as a record of facts essential to the consideration of Watteau's art, and to the reconstitution of his life. It is the work of one who was at the most fruitful time of his career his close companion, and had unsurpassed opportunities for observing his practice and penetrating the secrets of his technique. There is nevertheless something repulsive in the unsympathetic coldness with which Caylus notes his friend's eccentricities and the infinitely sad if not precisely heroic incidents of his rapid decline and death. His discourse has, with all its deficiencies the same kind of authority as one of the "Lives" of Vasari; that is, it requires modification and correction in many vital particulars, but still constitutes the basis upon which the modern biographer of Watteau must rest. For his latest years the memoir which the picture-dealer Gersaint wrote in 1744, as a preface to the *Catalogue raisonné des diverses Curiosités du Cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorange*, is a still higher authority; and the worthy citizen, though by no means an out and out panegyrist, shows in his simple biographical sketch a full

measure of that intuitive sympathy, the want of which so jars upon us in the aristocratic critic and amateur.

The Catalogue raisonné of M. Edmond de Goncourt, which appeared in 1875, gives a fairly complete list of Watteau's paintings, and a practically exhaustive one of the engravings done after both painted and engraved works. Where the eminent critic has himself seen the works which he describes, his comment is, as might be expected from the ardent student and eulogist of the eighteenth century, singularly suggestive and original; but unfortunately in treating of the Watteaus outside France he is obliged to trust to hearsay and the opinion of others. Seeing that at least two-thirds of the Valenciennes master's paintings, including some of the very finest, are now in Germany, England, and Russia, this seriously detracts from the authority of M. de Goncourt's volume, and quite deprives it of the definitive character which might otherwise have been claimed for it.

On the occasion of the memorable exhibition of works by old masters, which took place in Berlin in the year 1883 to celebrate the silver wedding of the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, there was brought together, almost exclusively from the royal palaces of Berlin and Potsdam, such a series of works by the charming "small masters" whose activity belongs to the earlier half of the eighteenth century as has hardly been seen in our time, even in the Louvre itself. There were in the exhibition nine Watteaus, among which at least two of his masterpieces, twelve Lancret's, and twenty-five Pater's, to say nothing of other eighteenth-century artists with whom we are not for the moment concerned. To commemorate this exceptional event in the artistic annals of Berlin, the late Richard Dohme, than whom no critic, even among Frenchmen, possessed a more accurate knowledge of the painters and styles of the last century in France, wrote for the *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (vol. iv., 1883) a short biography of our master, with special reference to the exhibition, which is assuredly one of the most precious contributions that have been made to the subject.¹ Nowhere else has so serious an attempt been made to trace Watteau's artistic development through his extant works, and to arrange these—hardest task of all—in something like chronological order.

¹ See also a series of articles by M. Charles Ephrussi on this exhibition in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1883 and 1884.

Finally, the *doyen* of French critics, Paul Mantz, whose quite recent loss France now mourns, summed up in a biography of Watteau, which first appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in the years 1889 and 1890, nearly all that is at present known of his life and artistic career, eliminating at the same time much that appeared on examination to be either mere legend or pure invention. Treating his subject with that enthusiasm for a national glory which is so stimulating when it is combined with a wide and comprehensive technical knowledge and an impartial judgment, Mantz nevertheless disclaimed the idea of writing a definitive life of his hero upon the facts gathered together and added to by him, pointing out in particular the impossibility, to-day when private collections are shifting and dissolving with provoking rapidity, of making a complete catalogue of his works in which the grain should be winnowed from the chaff. Like M. de Goncourt he was much hampered in his task by a too incomplete acquaintance at first hand with the originals of the works which he was called upon to discuss.¹

The bibliography of the subject would be incomplete, indeed, without some reference to Walter Pater's charming sketch, "A Prince of Court Painters" in *Imaginary Portraits*, though it does not profess to be more than a delicate structure built up of fact and of fancy suggested by fact. None the less is the Imaginary Portrait one of rare subtlety and charm, finely embodying with greater reticence and less vividness the modern conception which we owe to the Goncourts.

Watteau narrowly missed being not only in race but in nationality a Fleming. On the 28th of February, 1677, the army of Louis XIV. invested Valenciennes, and on the 17th of March in the same year carried all the defences and took the city. The new frontier was marked out by the treaty of Nimeguen, signed on the 11th of August, 1678, which left Valenciennes definitively to France. The mere fact that Antoine was born at Valenciennes in 1684, a French subject, does not, of course, make him more truly French than an Alsatian or a Lorrainer born within the last quarter of a century in his province would be truly German. It is not this mere accident of his birth, but the subsequent development of his

¹ Among other recent works on the subject may be mentioned the "Watteau," by John W. Mollett in the "*Great Artists*" Series (1883), and a monograph treating of the Valenciennes master, by an accomplished Danish critic, Herr Emil Hannover (1889).

genius in the forcing atmosphere of Paris, which made him truly, in one sense, what he has been called, "the most French of French painters."

Antoine was the son of Jean Philippe Watteau and Michelle Lardenois, and was baptised in the church of St. Jacques at Valenciennes on the 16th of October 1684. Mantz, following Caylus, calls the father *un modeste couvreur*, that is, a tiler, thatcher, glazier; but a countryman of the painter's, M. Cellier,¹ following up Gersaint, has unearthed entries in the local archives showing the father to have been that very different thing, a *maître-couvreur*, that is, a master of his trade, a person to whom important pieces of work, of which M. Cellier enumerates several, were confided. The point, though seemingly trivial, is not without importance in its bearing upon another one which confronts us at starting—that of the nature of the rudimentary education as a painter which Watteau received before quitting Valenciennes. Already at this stage we find statements absolutely at variance the one with the other. Caylus, in his trenchant summary fashion, says that hardness was the dominant character of Watteau's father, and that it was with difficulty that he made up his mind to apprentice him to a painter of the city. Another and a truer friend, M. de Julienne, not less deliberately states that his parents, notwithstanding the mediocrity of their fortune and condition, neglected nothing that could conduce to his education; and that, consulting his natural inclination for the career of artist, they placed him with a middling painter of the city. The only point on which the conflicting authorities agree is in heaping scathing though vague epithets of reproach upon the head of Watteau's first master. Seeing how degenerate were already the Flemish and Dutch schools in the last years of the seventeenth century, and how meagre the best must have been at that time in the border city, never an artistic centre, and now a sort of perpetual tramping ground for regiments marching and counter-marching, this contemptuous description of Antoine's first teacher might have been deemed to meet the natural probabilities of the situation. We now know him, however, to have been Jacques-Albert Gérin, the head of the guild or corporation of St. Luke at Valenciennes, and we must abate a little of our scorn since, though a mediocrity, he was at any rate a respectable one.²

¹ Cellier's *Antoine Watteau, son Enfance, ses Contemporains*.

² Mantz enumerates works by Gérin, still to be seen in various towns of French

It would appear that Antoine entered the studio of Gérin in 1698, and that he remained with him until 1702, in which year his instructor died. At that time, when he was but eighteen, it is safe to assume with Mantz that, notwithstanding his apprenticeship to the best available painter of the city, he was not much more than a novice. True, he had the opportunity of studying, on the high altar of the abbey-church of St. Amand, near Valenciennes, a great triptych of Rubens, with *The Stoning of St. Stephen* as its centre, and on the wings, *The Saint Preaching* and *The Burial of the Saint*. The contemplation of this important work may well have been the initial step in the study and imitation of the great Antwerp master, which only afterwards in Paris attained its full development under the influence of the Luxembourg pictures and the Crozat pictures and drawings. In Valenciennes itself the young student could, if he would, make acquaintance with Martin de Vos, Van Dyck, Janssens, and Crayer. But more than all these—more even than Rubens at this particular moment, when his steps still faltered and his path was uncertain—Teniers must have been his model; and we must assume, as we may very fairly do, that works of the prolific Flemish virtuoso, whose life was prolonged until 1690, must have come under his notice—nay, more, must have been closely studied by him.

Probably his first painting in order of date, among those of which a trace remains to us, is *La vraie Gaieté*¹ (formerly in the collection of Le Hardy de Famars, of Valenciennes, and by him engraved). This echoes, in almost servile fashion, Teniers and Brauwer, but chiefly the former. A couple of peasants of the approved gross Flemish type are seen dancing, while another makes music, and courting of the usual enterprising kind goes on in the background. Watteau, as we know him later on, peeps out in the peculiar small folds of the costumes, and in the heads of the women, which are redeemed by a certain latent coquetry from the unabashed brutishness which we associate with Teniers, Brauwer, and the Van Ostade group. As analogous to this, Dohme cites a com-

Flanders, and cartoons for tapestries prepared by him (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1889, vol. i.).

¹ R. Dohme, *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, "Die Französische Schule des XVIIIten Jahrhunderts—I. Antoine Watteau."

position of many figures, *Retour de Guingette* (engraved by P. Chedel), of which the subject in its *terre-à-terre* realism is also ultra-Flemish. It is closing-time at the ale-houses of Valenciennes, or some adjacent place, and numerous couples and groups, finely and humorously observed, are stumbling their way homeward, mutually supported, or mutually dragged earthwards. Here, however, the art, though Flemish, is much more advanced, and appears to the writer to suggest the subsequent period to which belong the numerous military subjects of small dimensions presently to be enumerated. To the early time, though perhaps not necessarily to the first Valenciennes period, belong also *La Marmotte* (engraved by B. Audran) and *La Fileuse* (engraved by the same), of which the former is in the gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and the latter is not now known to exist.¹ This painting of single figures in pairs or series is again very suggestive of Teniers, and the characterisation is still Netherlandish, although more personal and less imitative than in *La vraie Gaïeté*.

Watteau left Valenciennes for Paris in 1702 on the death of Gérin, and we know nothing definite about the circumstances of his departure otherwise than from the vague expressions of Caylus, and the statement of Gersaint that "he left the paternal roof without any supply of money or clothing, in order to take refuge with some painter in Paris, and thus place himself in a position to make some progress." Mantz bids us discard the picturesque legend which shows us young Antoine leaving Valenciennes for Paris with a decorative painter of the city, who immediately obtains for him work in connection with the scenery and costumes of the opera, thus laying the foundation of the future Watteau style, with its idealisation of stage poetry and artifice, and bringing about close personal relations between the young provincial and the liberal divinities of the *corps de ballet*. Gersaint states, presumably on Watteau's own authority, that "chance caused him to light upon a mediocre painter, Métayer, whom he soon left owing to lack of work." Next—Caylus and Gersaint here agreeing—we find Antoine taking refuge with a manufacturer of pictures *à la douzaine*, and obtaining for his week's mechanical drudgery only three livres and his soup every day. Here every pupil had his speciality: one did

¹ Finished designs for both pictures, after drawings by Watteau, are in the *Figures de Différents Caractères*, published by Julienne.

the skies, another the heads, another the draperies, and yet another put in the high-lights and added the finishing touches to the picture. Watteau must soon have been promoted to work somewhat superior to this, since we find him repeating *ad nauseam* a certain *St. Nicolas* much in demand, which was specially reserved for him. As he said one day to Gersaint: "*Je sçavois mon saint Nicolas par cœur et je me passois d'original.*" He also repeated a well-known *Liseuse*, a spectacled old woman, by Gerard Dou (now at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg), the popularity of which in France during the eighteenth century is further attested by engravings from more than one practised burin, specimens of which are even now commonly to be found in the second-hand print shops.

We are on firmer ground when we come to Watteau's relations with Claude Gillot. Here at last is an artist of whom we know something, and something which proves that his influence operated to give a great impetus to the nascent art of Watteau, though his individuality was not sufficiently strong to leave upon it a permanent impress. The catalogue of the Louvre is silent as to Gillot, and no picture of his appears, indeed, to have come down to us, or at any rate to have been identified as his.¹ Still, this painter, who was eleven years Watteau's senior and already a prominent artist at the time when a happy chance threw the two together, made no inconsiderable figure in the art of the time. He became afterwards (in 1715) a member of the Academy, and survived his former *protégé* by a single year.

If we have no sufficiently authenticated paintings by Gillot, we have engravings after his strange *Bacchanales* and *Diableries* showing imaginativeness of a passionate and sensuous type, not common in the day of the Coypels, the Boullognes, the Jouvenets, when Rigaud and Largillière reigned supreme as portrait-painters, and when alone Santerre and the Swiss painter Alexis Grimou ventured upon certain mild innovations—in costume and the treatment of light rather than in the mode of conception.

¹ Dohme suggests that the two famous series of decorations, *La grande Singerie* and *La petite Singerie* at the château of Chantilly, are not by Watteau, to whom they are in some eloquent pages of the *Catalogue raisonné* ascribed by M. Edmond de Goncourt, but by Gillot. This is, according to the German critic, the opinion of the Duc d'Aumâle himself. In support of this argument Dohme adduces the fact that the fashion of the dresses worn by the monkey-men is that of about 1700, *i.e.*, a few years before the time when Watteau practised as a decorator.

As an *ornemaniste* Gillot showed a real originality, and it is here that he exercised over Watteau a real influence. Belonging to the school of Bérain, who, in the special branches of pure ornamentation and stage costume still reigned triumphant—ending with consummate decorative ability, though with the conventionality which belongs to his school, the Louis-Quatorzian period, and heralding that of the Regency—Gillot nevertheless gave the rein to his fancy, and ventured upon developments of his own constituting a renewal of the style. Bérain himself had already on occasion replaced the divinities of Olympus by the quaint types of the Italian and French comedy, and Gillot, further working this vein, introduced them not only into his decorations but into his easel pictures.¹ It can hardly be doubted that from him—and not, as legend has it, from the stage itself—Watteau obtained his first peep into the strange border-country of Italian comedy—too near reality in its strong synthetic representation of human passion and human vice to be a veritable dreamland, and yet too ideal, too much the realm of vision and fantasy, to be solid *terra firma*.

During these early years Watteau could, indeed, have had no opportunity of studying the Italian comedy, otherwise than through the works of his new preceptor and friend. In 1797, when he was a boy of thirteen living at Valenciennes, the unfortunate comedians were by order of Louis Quatorze bundled into the street, official seals being placed upon the doors of the theatre, and themselves expelled not only from the city but the kingdom. The cause was a play with an unfortunate title, *La fausse Prude*, which excited the anger and alarm of the *Grand Monarque*, who chose to assume, rightly or wrongly, that his morganatic spouse, Madame de Maintenon, was aimed at. This catastrophe extinguished for nineteen years, so far as France was concerned, the gaiety of “Harlequin curved with the mannered grace of a Parmegiano, Pierrot with his arms close to his side, as straight as an I, the Tartaglias, the Scapins, the Cassanders, the Doctors, and the favourite Mezzetin . . . always to the fore, his cup pushed from his brow, striped from head to heel, haughty as a god, fat as Silenus.” The well-known

¹ The British Museum can show no purely ornamental work by Gillot, but in that of Berlin (Section of Prints and Drawings) is a large portfolio containing designs of this class, which give a very high idea of his ability on his own ground.

subject attributed to Watteau, *Le Départ des Comédiens italiens* (engraved by L. Jacob) showing the lamentable discomfiture of the expelled mummeters, could not well have been painted by him before 1716, when the Regent, bent upon putting an end to the moral severities of the Maintenon régime, soon after the death of the aged monarch recalled them. Unless indeed the thing was done without models from types noted in the pictures and decorations of Gillot, which is not impossible, considering the stiffness and bad action of the figures intended to express passion and agitation. For there is no denying the fact that the composition is a failure.¹ But then Watteau is rarely if ever dramatic in the stricter sense of the word. He can wrap his personages round with an indefinable unity of sentiment, as he can wrap them round with an atmosphere of sunset haze or of dying day; but he cannot connect them with that invisible wire which makes all the personages of the dramatic painter at the given moment of representation thrill together, whether with the attraction of sympathy or the clash of opposing passion. The most dramatic composition of the master—indeed the only true dramatic one which the writer can call to mind—is that delightful painted satire *Le Chat malade* (engraved by J. M. Liotard).

To the friendship which a similarity of tastes, of character and disposition had created between master and pupil succeeded disagreement, and according to Caylus, they parted on bad terms, all the gratitude that Watteau showed to his former master and friend being to preserve an absolute silence with regard to their difference, while according all the same full praise to his works, and acknowledging his indebtedness to them. However this may be, and whether we choose to follow Caylus in his statement that master and pupil remained thenceforward entirely apart or not, we have evidence that Gillot at any rate showed no rancour, since we find him, remiss as he was in his attendances at the Academy, making an appearance on the occasion of Watteau's admission as a probationary member in 1712, and voting in his favour.

¹ Dohme has suggested, without furnishing any direct proof, that the *Départ des Comédiens italiens* is not by Watteau, but by Gillot himself. The point is the more difficult to decide, because we have only the evidence of the rather second-rate engraving, the picture itself having long since vanished. It is to be noted that the ladies who witness the expulsion from the windows, still appear in the *fontange* headdress, which was no longer worn in 1716, when the Comédie returned.

Another and later instance of disagreement with a *confrère*—but this time with an imitator—is afforded by his relations with Lancret, who was, as he himself had been, a student in the atelier of Gillot, but further developed himself by the example and at first also under the advice of Watteau. If we are to trust to the story related in the catalogue of the Louvre (1883), Lancret, profiting by the counsels of his senior, exhibited, as the custom then was, at the Place Dauphine, during the octave of the Fête-Dieu, two compositions in the style of Watteau so successful that they were attributed to the latter, and he even received in respect of them the compliments of some of his friends. This success, we are told, extinguished for ever the friendship of the two painters. A better authenticated story is that of the abrupt dismissal by Watteau of his pupil and fellow-countryman Jean-Baptiste Pater, for which, as will be seen later on, he made the noblest amends in his last days.

On his rupture with Gillot, Watteau had of necessity to seek a new master and a new home, and he found both with Claude Audran, the concierge of the Luxembourg, that is the keeper, in the higher and more important sense, of the sumptuous palace of Marie de Médicis, with its priceless contents. Audran was one of the first decorators of the day, and the rival in the estimation of his contemporaries of Jean Bérain himself. His most important works in the so-called *grotesque* style were to be found in the mansion of the Duchesse de Bouillon, in the Châteaux of Meudon and La Muette, and the Ménagerie of Versailles.

Though Watteau's extensive practice under such an acknowledged master of decoration as was Audran must have developed his facility and enlarged his style, it is not possible to admit without qualification the statement of Caylus that it was at this stage that his taste for ornament was formed. We have seen how his style in decoration was in the first place based on the agreeably fantastic manner of Gillot. It appears that Audran employed Watteau chiefly to paint the figures which he introduced into his schemes of decoration, but the probability is¹ that his collaboration was not thus restricted, but was extended to the fanciful coloured arabesques executed on a ground of white or gold.

Though Watteau's practice in the domain of pure decoration was clearly not limited to the time of his collaboration with Audran, and

¹ Mantz, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1889, vol. i.

very probably extended through a considerable portion of his short career, it may be convenient to discuss here this branch of his art, and to show in what it innovated upon the school of ornamentation—at once more constructive and logical and more sumptuous, if heavier and less *spirituel*—which marked the end of the seventeenth century and is chiefly associated with the name of Bérain.

Though it is by the influence of Audran, and the collaboration with him that Watteau's proficiency as a decorator and his development of what is practically a new style are generally accounted for, it is rather, as has already been hinted, to the prior influence of Gillot that should be ascribed the element of innovation introduced by the pupil, seeing that Audran himself was—as Mantz points out—very Louis-Quatorzian in style and associations. This innovation upon the more learned and complete methods of the seventeenth century at its close consisted mainly in the introduction not only of figures and groups much nearer to an ungeneralised realism than any that had previously appeared in the same connection but of quite naturalistic branches and foliage, birds and animals, connected with, yet not truly an integral part of, the ornamentation proper, which is itself of a transitional type, leading from the late Louis Quatorze to the Regency style—really the prefatory period of the so-called Louis Quinze.

Carried out with the spirited brush and the delicacy of colour proper to Watteau himself these compositions may well have possessed, we must, indeed, infer that they did possess, a charm not easily resistible. Translated into black and white as they appear to us in the very numerous reproductions of the *Recueil* published by Julienne, they cannot, even though they are Watteau's, command unstinted admiration. This direct juxtaposition, in one scheme of decoration, of elements taken straight from nature with others conventionalised and generalised according to rule—the one coalescing with the other no more completely than oil does with water—though it calls up the recollection of a still more illustrious example—that of Raphael himself in those over-praised decorations, the Loggie of the Vatican—is not to be justified, though it may be excused. Still, criticise as we may and must when we meet Watteau on this ground, it is not easy to resist the fascination of some of the best examples preserved to us in the engraved reproductions, such as, for instance, the popular *Dénicheur de Moineaux* (engraved by Boucher), the

Berger content (engraved by Crépy fils), or *Le Buveur* (engraved by Aveline).

If we put aside the *Grande Singerie* and *Petite Singerie* of Chantilly, not as wanting in vivacious charm and appropriateness, but as doubtful Watteaus, there remains little or nothing of this class that can with any



Study of Costume, by Watteau. From the "Figures de Modes."

degree of certainty be ascribed to his own hand. Mantz mentions dubitatively some examples which have appeared from time to time in Parisian sales, chiefly models on a small scale, such as the *Dénicheur de moineaux*, already mentioned, and the unpleasing design *L'Alliance de la Musique et de la Comédie*, which was seen as lately as 1856. The



"Le Dénicheur de Moineaux," by Watteau. From the engraving by Boucher.

painted screens, the harpsichord decorations, the fans—for there were such—have disappeared, and irrevocably, it is to be feared; but the



Nikou, femme bonze. Engraved by Boucher from the decoration by Watteau in the Château de la Muette.

designs for some of the screens are preserved in the reproductions of the engravers. Well-authenticated productions of Watteau's own brush, and executed by him somewhere near the Audran period, were the pseudo-

Chinese decorations of the Château de la Muette, near Paris, of which all trace had disappeared long before the Revolution. The chief figures are fortunately preserved to us in the series engraved by Boucher under the title, *Diverses Figures chinoises peintes par Watteau, tirées du Cabinet de*



"Poisson en habit de paysan," by Watteau. From the "Figures Françaises et Comiques."

Sa Majesté au Château de la Meute (sic), and in the supplementary series by Jeurat and Aubert respectively. Because in a superb drawing in the collection of the Albertina at Vienna (done in black lead on a tinted ground, and heightened in the lights with white) Watteau has delineated

with a fine observance of ethnic type a true Chinese, and even given his name "F. Sao," he has been complimented on his close study of the Chinese physiognomy in the decorations of La Muette. These, as we know them in the engravings, are, on the contrary, for the most part—whether consciously or unconsciously—delightfully and humorously French. Of this assertion no better corroboration could be desired than the delicious *Nikou, femme bonze*, here reproduced after Boucher's engraving; the figure has a piquant charm, which notwithstanding the more or less Chinese get-up, is not Pekinese, but wholly Parisian of the eighteenth century. All these personages, notwithstanding the solemn jargon tacked on to them by the engravers, belong, indeed, to the realms of comedy, not as avowedly as the *Comédie italienne* and *Comédie française* episodes more closely associated with the master, yet hardly less certainly.

CHAPTER II

"Oui, au fond de cet Œuvre de Watteau, je ne sais quelle lente et vague harmonie murmure derrière les paroles rieuses ; je ne sais quelle tristesse musicale et doucement contagieuse est répandue dans ces fêtes galantes."

EDMOND ET JULES DE GONCOURT.

WATTEAU now, as the pupil and collaborator of Audran, the Keeper of the Luxembourg, came definitively face to face with Rubens, whom, as we have seen, he had already had opportunities of studying at home in his boyhood at Valenciennes, yet not with so sustained an attention as he was now able to devote to the master akin to him in race, whose technique was at the root of his own throughout his career, yet whose artistic temperament in its robust sanity and lack not of passion but of the higher imaginativeness, had so little in common with that of the ultra-sensitive poet-painter, whose home was in the Flemish Valenciennes, but whose heart and genius belonged to France.

The great series of canvases now in the Louvre, in which are depicted with all sorts of mythological and symbolical adjuncts, episodes from the lives of Henri IV. and Marie de Médicis, were thus without restraint open to young Watteau. And yet he must have had other and more favourable opportunities of studying the *chef d'école* of Antwerp than in this vast succession of heavy Flemish allegories, of which the original sketches scattered now through the museums and collections of Europe, show the magic of Rubens's own brush, while the gigantic works developed from them are almost entirely the handiwork of his pupils. Not from these alone could Audran's pupil and guest have obtained that profound knowledge of Rubens's technique in its essence which he displayed later on when he exchanged the almost monochromatic *ton vigoureux* of his beginnings for the *ton fleuri* of his mature style. The Crozat Collection to which, as will be seen, he presently obtained access afforded him, with its 316 drawings by the Flemish master,

unlimited opportunities for developing his method and style as a draughtsman; and to canvases in the same collection and in that of Louis XIV. himself he must have owed that intimate comprehension of his fellow-countryman's technical methods which he could hardly have obtained from the Luxembourg pictures alone.

It was not, however, at this moment, when he was about to paint his first thoroughly individual piece, the *Départ de Troupe*, that he had fathomed all the secrets of the master's palette—the rosy freshness and brilliancy of the flesh-tints, the crisp folds of the satins with their sharp high-lights in solid impasto, the warm glow of the gracious landscapes, with their melting blue distances half wrapped in transparent vapour.

Mantz, relying on the now published archives of the Academy, was able to state for the first time with certainty the facts connected with the passage of Watteau through the schools. In its minutes of the 6th of April, 1709, we find that after an inspection of time-sketches, the Academy admitted Watteau, together with four other painters, Hutin, Vernansal l'aîné, Grison, and Parrocel, to compete for the *grands prix*. The subjects belonged to the class of those icily conventional ones which had imposed themselves ever since the so-called "gréat art" of France had become a branch of the later schools of Italy, and of the Bolognese in particular. The choice fell this time upon *The Return of David after the Victory over Goliath*, and *Abigail Bringing Food to David*, two themes which, if they came naturally enough to the average student of the schools, must have paralysed the inspiration of young Antoine, unfamiliar as he was with the academic standpoint, and drawn on the one hand towards a tempered form of the realism natural to his race, on the other towards the facile graces of the decorative style now flowering anew. After a public exhibition of the students' performances, the voting of the Academicians took place, and the second prize only was attributed to Watteau, the first being given to Grison, of whom the world knows nothing more than this. We need not overmuch lament over the disappearance of these first-fruits of contact with the Academy, although Julianne, the most amiable and euphemistic of our painter's friends, declares that Watteau's picture showed the sparks of that genius which subsequently blazed up into so fair a flame.

All these attendances at the schools, this severe labour of the competition, must have been squeezed out of Antoine's spare time, for during this period he had not ceased to work at the Luxembourg with his master-decorator Audran. Throughout this residence in the stately palace he must have enjoyed in the fair garden of the royal palace moments of solitude and contemplation, infinitely sweet and soothing to a temperament such as his. He wanted even in those early days the buoyancy which comes from perfect physical health and balance, but was maturing unconsciously the qualities, far more precious in their rarity, of poetic insight and an exquisite sensitiveness to the essential beauty of things commonplace and frivolous to the commonplace, who with an indifferent eye take in their surface only. The beautiful glades and avenues were then a little neglected, and Caylus describes them in charming phrase as "*moins peignées que ceux des autres maisons royales.*" It is here that Watteau unceasingly drew the trees, and drank in the beauty of prospects recalling the backgrounds of his worshipped Rubens. The happily imagined rusticated architecture of the palace, containing in this particular a reminiscence of those much earlier ones of the Florence whence Marie de Médicis came, and more particularly the rich beauty of the monumental colonnades and fountains supplied to him, as they had already done to Rubens, many a splendid motive. This is particularly clear in the *Jardin d'Amour* of the Antwerp master, and in such pictures presently to be discussed as Watteau's *Plaisirs du Bal*, *L'Amour au Théâtre français*, and many others of the same type.

Not only the trees of the royal garden, but the personages who walked in it, wearing for the benefit of the onlookers their freshest and daintiest apparel, occupied our painter. To him, whose pencil intuitively seized upon every significant movement, who revelled in the graces of womanhood, in the naive joys of happy childhood, there must have occurred here unrivalled opportunities for observing and taking notes, and that from his point of vantage he made full use of these opportunities there is every reason to believe.

It is about this time that must be placed the little work which, if not, as it has been called, Antoine's first picture, is at any rate the first in which his individuality asserted itself with decision above the influences of the early Flemish time. This is the spirited little *Départ*

de Troupe, engraved afterwards by Thomassin, completing the etching done by Watteau himself, as *Recrue allant joindre le Régiment*. According to Gersaint, Watteau took this little piece, done in his spare moments, to his master Audran. He was astonished and affrighted at the merit shown in this first distinctive production of the true Watteau, and, fearing to lose assistance so valuable to him in his art, counselled his too brilliant pupil to abandon this free and fantastic genre which could only impair the correct taste that he was then acquiring. Without imputing to Claude Audran any Macchiavellian wickedness in the matter, we may assume that he did what he could to keep by his side so valuable a talent, and thought to succeed by discouraging further excursions into a domain of art in which his pupil revealed such unexpected brilliancy.

The gifted assistant, feeling his feet now for the first time, had determined, however, on departure, and experiencing some mild home-sickness and a desire to see his parents again after a seven years' absence, he found in this natural longing of his a very decent excuse for getting away without a formal breach with his kind employer and friend. On this point Caylus and Gersaint practically agree, though the former is grandiloquent, the latter homely and unvarnished. But the sinews of war were not at hand, and the little *Départ de Troupe* being the young painter's only resource, he bethought himself of his Flemish friend Spoede, and took it to him. A happy chance led the intermediary to the dealer Sirois, who was to become the *gros brun au visage riant* of Watteau's picture and the father-in-law of Gersaint. The bargain was promptly completed, and the young painter, rejoicing in the possession of sixty livres, the modest price of the picture, departed gaily, says Gersaint, for Valenciennes. Somehow even in those early days, however, one cannot quite imagine in Watteau himself that frank, unrestrained gaiety which he knew so well how to impart to some of his comedy characters. In the bargain with Sirois he was evidently of opinion that he had nothing to complain of, since it was the foundation of the lifelong relations of business and friendship which were maintained between the two men.

Sirois, with the true instinct of the connoisseur-dealer, scented a future reputation, and pressed Watteau much to paint for him another picture as a pendant. This the young painter did while at Valenciennes,

producing this time the *Halte d'Armée* (engraved by C. N. Cochin). The altered relation between the parties is well shown by the fact that this time Watteau asked and obtained for his little piece 200 livres.

In connection with these two pictures there has existed, and indeed still exists, considerable confusion in the accounts of the biographers. Mantz, misled perhaps by Gersaint's statement that the *Départ de Troupe* was engraved by C. N. Cochin, whereas the *Halte d'Armée* only is so engraved, appears to look upon that picture and the *Recrue allant joindre le Régiment* as two distinct works. Surely, however, these are only two names for one and the same picture, the former being that given by Gersaint in his account, the latter the one borne by the engraving begun by Watteau and terminated by Thomassin. The two pieces are supposed to have been painted on copper, though Gersaint does not state that this was so ; and as such are mentioned by M. E. de Goncourt. Writing in 1875, he says, moreover, that the original of the *Recrue* (on wood) existed in a much damaged and darkened condition in the possession of a M. A. Sichel. Is this the same picture which Dohme, writing in 1883, enthusiastically describes as the original of the *Recrue* in the collection of M. Edmond de Rothschild at Paris? If so, the picture must in the interval have been restored so as to regain much of its pristine charm ; for he—one of the subtlest and most accurate judges of French eighteenth-century art and of Watteau in particular—deems it worthy of the closest analysis as showing the style of his favourite master in its beginnings. The colour, it appears, is grayish-brown and almost monochromatic like that of most of the artist's quite early works, yet not without its own peculiar effectiveness. The print of Thomassin shows the infinite spirit and truth of the design, with its onward march of soldiers headed by a mounted officer. The truth of movement in this last figure, seen from the back, might have made Meissonier envious : Watteau himself has not surpassed it.

Very inferior in interest, though foreshadowing both in figures and landscape some of the painter's most characteristic peculiarities, is the corresponding *Halte d'Armée*.¹

The Corporation Galleries of Art of Glasgow possess versions, nearly as large again as the originals, and painted on *canvas*, of the *Recrue* and the *Halte d'Armée*, the latter of which is by an error of the catalogue identified with the *Escorte d'Equipages* (engraved by Laurent Cars). These pictures which are in bad condition, if not by Watteau, are at

We must take the *Départ de Troupe*, which was the starting point of the military series, to be a recollection of the early Valenciennes days, since it was painted in Paris before the return thither. Watteau's recollection might well be revived by the sight of the troops which he must have seen marching and countermarching in Paris and its environs. Arriving in Valenciennes about the time of Malplaquet, he had only too ample opportunities for pursuing his studies in military genre, and we know indeed from Julienne that he executed there "several pictures, including studies of camps and soldiers drawn direct from nature." On the other hand, as the candid friend Caylus expressly underlines the fact that restless Watteau, finding after a time no more satisfaction in Valenciennes than elsewhere, made but a short stay, we must assume that the greater number of the military pieces which followed were taken from motives found and studied at home, but worked up in Paris.

The *Escorte d'Equipages* (engraved by Le Cars) described by Mariette as "*merveilleux*," is now no longer known to exist. In certain traits of naïve realism the picture is still Flemish; but in its charming sprightliness, modifying yet not mis-stating the elements of the scene, it is far already from the brilliant yet unimaginative productions of Flanders. Judging from the engravings, the almost miniature *Fatigues de la Guerre* and *Délassements de la Guerre*—the former engraved by Scotin, the latter by Crépy fils—have a still more piquant incisiveness, a still higher pictorial charm. Meissonier-like is the realistic truth, within the smallest space of each figure, but not Meissonier-like the spontaneous ease of the whole, or the amiable vivacity of the impression conveyed. These little jewels, according to the catalogue of the Hermitage, form part of the Imperial Collection there.¹ According to Mantz they have the monochromatic brown-grey tone which distin-

any rate of his time, and as such they confirm the hypothesis that the *Recrue* and the *Halte d'Armée* belong together, and that the former is identical with the *Départ de Troupe*. The two originals are supposed to have found a place shortly after they had been acquired by Sirois in the gallery of Crozat. These last are in Hébert's *Dictionnaire pittoresque* described as a *Marche de Troupe* and a *Halte*—yet another confirmation of the above hypothesis. There are in Julienne's *Recueil* "*Figures de différents Caractères*" several single studies, after drawings by Watteau, for figures of soldiers in the *Recrue*.

¹ M. de Goncourt has called the identity of these pictures at the Hermitage into question, suggesting, on not very convincing grounds, that they may be the *Recrue* and the *Halte d'Armée*. Unluckily they have not been photographed.

guishes the *Recrue* at Baron E. de Rothschild's, and they would thus belong to much the same period. It was of the pictures painted for Sirois that Gersaint wrote that they had "a vigour of colour and a harmony which made them seem to be by some old master." The *Retour de Campagne* (C. N. Cochin) is more elaborate than the preceding, but, on the whole, not so successful, though the consentaneous onward movement of a number of human beings is wonderfully given. Later and broader in style, if one may trust to J. Moyreau's engravings, but not as well composed, as vivid, or as manifestly based on reality, are another pair of pictures, a *Halte* and a *Défilé* (*sic*). Mantz, who possessed a reduced copy of the latter, describes it as in a monotonous brownish tone. A little *Encampment*, by Watteau, of this type, was in the collection of the late Miss James, and appeared as No. 47 at the Old Masters in 1891.

A glance at the engravings of all these fascinating little pieces shows at once the unity of Watteau's point of view. He does not see the tragic horror of war as Callot did long before him and Goya long afterwards; he does not see its official pomp and dignity like Van der Meulen; he is not conventional or unconvincing in his picturesqueness as Philips Wouwerman and his fellows too often were. He is chiefly impressed by the buoyant movement, the vivacity, the sparkle of the whole; by the martial elegance of the uniforms, the *crânerie* with which they are worn, the amusing groups of soldiers disporting themselves with the usual donzels of the camp, of homelier women carrying or tending their children, of tents and impedimenta of all kinds in inextricable confusion. He sees that face of the truth which appeals to him, leaving in shadow those other faces which his nature renders him incapable of interpreting. Hardly ever, except when treating a subject having in it an element of the serio-comic and the caricatural, does Watteau attempt the representation of the deeper, the more tragic moments through which humanity passes.¹ He shuns all that is not gilded with the sunlight of a smile, or touched with the prismatic hue of an ephemeral exquisiteness; and it is this that causes Caylus to say

¹ As exceptions, nevertheless, must be mentioned two military subjects, *La Revanche des Paysans* (engraved by Baron), and *Pillement d'un Village par l'Ennemi* (engraved by same). These are, however, curiously cold and passionless in conception for subjects of this class.



Watteau pinxit

Crépy del. Sculp.

Les Délassements de la Guerre, by Watteau. From the engraving by Crépy fils.

with a literal truth that has in it nevertheless something misleading, that "il ne s'est jamais exposé à rendre aucune passion." There is no dramatic passion, rarely any very definitive or concentrated action in his conceptions, but the passion, the sentiment is of another kind. It is all-pervading, it is the man himself unconsciously shining through his works, however vivacious in outward aspect, however elusive of the serious side of life. But this point can better be dealt with in a general appreciation of the master and his art, and must wait until some of the facts of his career have been worked through.

It is not known at what exact moment he returned from Valenciennes, but Mariette states that after the journey to Flanders he took up his abode with Sirois, where he doubtless first met Gersaint, who was, or was soon to become, the husband of one of the picture-dealer's daughters. No event in Watteau's life, no particular work can be specially connected with the year 1711; but in 1712 he comes into contact with Crozat, an event of the first order in his career, since he thereby obtains the means of complete self-development by the closest and most loving contact with the drawings and paintings of the old masters accumulated at the residence of the financier, one of the most enthusiastic and accomplished collectors of his time.

He painted for the dining-room in Crozat's splendid mansion, which occupied the corner where the rue Richelieu, joined with what was then literally the outer boulevard of the city of Paris, four large oval compositions with the *Seasons*, of which we can now only judge by the engravings done by Desplaces, Renard du Bos, Fessard, and Audran respectively, and by the drawings for *Spring* and *Autumn* in the collection of M. E. de Goncourt. Caylus, treating these works *de haut en bas*, complains of their mannerism and dryness, and further states that they were carried out from the designs of the Academician La Fosse. Some dryness of execution there may still have been in comparison with the later and more brilliant style, but the drawing, the types, the modelling of the flesh, are easily recognisable, even in the engravings, as Watteau's own, and M. de Goncourt declares the studies for the *Spring* and *Autumn* in his collection to be in the most characteristic style of the master. Especially is this the case with the *Printemps* (engraved by Desplaces), a not altogether well-balanced composition in which Zephyr is seen crowning with roses a nearly nude



TWO STUDIES OF A MAN PLAYING ON THE GUITAR.

From the drawing by Watteau for "La Gamme d'Anou" (British Museum).

figure of Spring. Here the treatment of the torso and the drapery is the purest Watteau.

The exact moment at which the now rapidly developing painter actually took up his abode in Crozat's vast and splendid hôtel is not known, but that he was not in permanent residence there until after he had successfully passed the first stage of admission to the Academy on the 30th of July, 1712, in the manner presently to be told, is certain. Still it appears convenient to discuss now, on his first coming into contact with the Hôtel Crozat and its treasures, the paramount influence which at this stage the masters of Flanders and Venice had in his development, it being understood that our painter may not have made completely his own their secrets until some time after the date at which we have now arrived. In that day, when the royal galleries were not easily accessible, no school for the young artist comparable to this private collection could be imagined, and, luckily for Watteau, he approached its marvels at a moment when his technique was not fully developed, yet his artistic individuality had already so strongly asserted itself that it ran no risk of absolute absorption into that of the masters whom he so passionately admired and studied. The Crozat Collection at the death of its owner numbered four hundred paintings, and the almost incredible number of nineteen thousand drawings, upon which, it is said, as much as 450,000 francs had been spent. It cannot have been as vast in extent when Watteau was admitted to feast upon its wonders; but at any rate there was enough to provide material for study during a lifetime. The catalogue of Mariette,¹ drawn up in 1741, shows two distinct sets of twenty-three drawings each, attributed to Giorgione, examples of Palma Vecchio and Lorenzo Lotto, ninety-five drawings attributed to Titian, upwards of a hundred given to Paolo Veronese, many examples by Domenico Campagnola, Tintoretto, Jacopo Bassano and other Venetians of the golden time, no less than three hundred and sixteen drawings given to Rubens, and others too numerous for mention, for particulars of which those curious in the matter should consult the catalogue itself.

Once established in the princely residence of his patron, and able to

¹ Unfortunately the drawings are here lumped together in groups and series, and noted in such fashion that it is generally impossible to identify them by the text only.

study its contents at leisure, Watteau found himself face to face with the two great guiding influences of his life—Rubens, and the Venetians, through whom Rubens had been enabled to shake himself free of the earlier and more frigid Italianising influences undergone by Flemish art, and to develop untrammelled all the exuberant splendour of his style.

As a draughtsman—that is, in the branch of his technique in which he avowedly stands unsurpassed, even by the greatest masters of all time—Watteau is not less undoubtedly the artistic child of Rubens than as a painter. His incomparable method of drawing, whether in sanguine, in black chalk and sanguine, or *aux trois crayons*, is to be found in the germ, nay, even in a high state of development in the superb drawings due to the hand of the Antwerp master; the use of black and red chalks in the combinations in which the latter used them, and with the pictorial as well as lineal significance which was the result, must, indeed, be considered as especially characteristic of him. To go no further than the public exhibition of drawings in the new wing of the British Museum, let us compare the *Isabelle Brant*¹ of Rubens with the Watteau drawings in the Malcolm Collection and in that of the British Museum itself, and the parentage of the latter becomes at once manifest. And yet how absolutely, even in the drawing, is the difference between the one and the other temperament exhibited! How in the one case we feel at once under the spontaneity and independence, a kind of jubilant sanity and healthfulness, while the impression is unconsciously derived that the swift, the unerring, the incomparably suggestive pencil of Watteau expresses a temperament more than normally tender, sensitive, and febrile. As with the pictures, there is nothing in the subject of the drawings to reveal or to explain in any clearly explicable fashion what is here suggested; yet in this phase of his art, too, the man makes himself irresistibly yet indefinitely felt behind his simplest works.

What interests Watteau the draughtsman is swiftness, momentariness of movement and attitude, the strong physical sense of life, the definition of what is essential to the type or the defined group of individuals, rather than the expression of physical or mental individuality in the narrower sense. He loves to note down in infinite variety of motive, and of bodily,

¹ Probably a study for the portrait of the master's first wife at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.



TWO STUDIES OF LADIES' HEADS.

From the drawing by Watteau in the British Museum.

as distinguished from physiognomic expression, woman rather than a particular woman ; the vanishing profile of the softly rounded young face ; the body elastic and vigorous within its prison of satin ; the sharp broken folds of the rich taffetas, both hiding and suggesting the



Study in Three Chalks, by Watteau. From the Collection in the British Museum.

form within ; the sinewy strength and lithe grace of early manhood ; the boy, wide-eyed and expectant, or the girl giving promise of the woman, with her budding, tender grace ; and again, the bright, worldly face of the abbé in all the unimpaired vigour of life, or the good-natured shrewdness of the professional comedian.

Watteau had already seen Rubens at St. Amand, and then again on

a vast scale, but with much dilution, at the Luxembourg. Now he must have come into contact with a Rubens of a more exquisite and restful type—the Rubens of the *Jardin d'Amour*, of the splendidly glowing Flemish landscapes into which some of the ardour and poetry of Titian had been infused. This picture, the *Jardin d'Amour*¹ (otherwise *La Société élégante*), is somehow at the root of Watteau's most typical *Fêtes galantes*, and yet it is not possible to go beyond the inference that he must have known and studied it. One original of the work is at Madrid, another and finer version, differing considerably from this last, in the collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild at Paris. There is a remarkable copy of Baron Rothschild's picture in the Dresden Gallery, which, just because it is there, is better known than the original. Numerous other copies can be shown to exist, and either from an original or from one of these copies Lempereur's engraving must have been done in Paris in 1769 (*Mariette, Abecedario V.* 135). It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Watteau must have seen the composition either in an original, a copy, or an engraving.²

The essential conception of such pictures by the young master of Valenciennes as the great *Embarquement pour Cythère*, and some of the *Fêtes galantes* would appear to be traceable to this source. In the conception of Rubens, as in the later French pictures, sumptuous seventeenth-century architecture and fair trees frame the scene of delightful idleness. Rubens has a stone fountain with a nude female divinity and amorini, suggesting those in the *Embarquement*, yet how different! In the *Jardin d'Amour* the splendid Flemish seigneurs and dames are seen in amorous conversation, while Cupids, either balanced in mid-air, or insidiously creeping into the skirts of the fair ones, transfix them with their darts, and incite them to yet more passionate demonstrations. All this occurs again with more elaboration and an infinitely more poetic charm in Watteau's masterpiece, and yet it would be unfair to say that one line or one contour had in this instance been directly borrowed by the younger from the elder master. With Rubens we are in a secluded pleasure-ground, far from the hum of the city, yet very clearly on the everyday earth and in

¹ Max Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, vol. iv.

² There is a coarse and exaggerated woodcut of the picture, hardly recognizable at first, by Jeghers.



Turkish Servant with Dish. From the drawing by Watteau in the British Museum.

the company of solid Flemings, fairly apparelled, and of high degree. Watteau lifts us just a little above the realities of the scene—not high enough to lose its warmth and humanity, but sufficiently to transport us into the poet's dreamland.

This brings us to the great *Kermesse* itself, that tremendous piece of Flemish realism in which Rubens goes beyond Jordaens himself both in passion and uncompromising literalness. This picture, which now belongs to the Louvre,¹ was in Watteau's time in the collection of Louis XIV., and we have absolute proof that he studied it in detail, and both drew and painted from it. It is curious that this particular work, in which Rubens has given the fullest rein to physical brutality, should have fascinated to such a degree our painter, who, even when he is nearest to the common earth and to the most material side of love, preserves his delicate fastidiousness intact. First, we have the sanguine drawing by Watteau, No. 297, in the His de la Salle section of the Louvre drawings, reproducing three groups from the *Kermesse*; then he copies in oils one of the groups, consisting of two women and a man dancing;² and lastly, we find in one of his own pictures, *La Surprise*³ (engraved by B. Audran), the most striking reminiscence of an episode in Rubens's great work. The picture itself, which was originally done for the painter's friend, Hénin, has vanished; it was described as one of his best performances. This is almost the only instance that the writer has met with in which Watteau has directly borrowed and adapted to his own uses a motive from another master, and it must be owned that he has not quite justified the borrowing. The violence of gesture and movement which so perfectly suited Rubens's gross peasants, less well becomes the softer dalliance of Watteau's dainty lovers. *L'Amour désarmé*, in the collection of the Duc d'Aumâle (engraved by B. Audran), can be traced back to Paolo Veronese, but this group of Venus and Cupid, like all Watteau's representations of the nude figure, preserves curiously the colour and sentiment of the eighteenth century.

The influence of Venice makes itself more subtly yet hardly less

¹ A double sheet of pen-and-ink sketches for many of the most animated groups in it is in the British Museum.

² Max Rooses, in *L'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, states that this copy by Watteau appeared in the Artaria sale (Vienna, 1886).

³ A feeble copy is in Buckingham Palace Collection.



A Beggar Woman with her Alms Box. From the drawing by Watteau in the British Museum.

unmistakably, felt than that of Flanders. Caylus tells us that our painter was particularly attracted by the landscape drawings of Titian and Domenico Campagnola, and that those of Jacopo Bassano also interested him. The biographer further relates that he and Hénin used to prepare for their teacher an "infinite number" of drawings after the best Flemish masters and the great Italian landscapists, and that when they were sufficiently advanced the master would give *quatre coups*, and obtain the right effect. Mantz has called into question this account as one of the dubious statements of the egotistic friend Caylus re-arranged for the benefit of the Academy; and, indeed, it seems likely that if such drawings were executed, they were done not for Watteau, or to pass as his, but as exercises for his pupils, to which he may have given some final corrections and finishing touches. There are several studies by him in the Louvre after Titian and Veronese, and among these Dohme points to the sanguine No. 1,342, after Titian, as perhaps a pupil's work finished in the fashion above indicated.

There is one marked peculiarity about Watteau the draughtsman, whether he copies nature or an old master. He draws evidently for the pleasure of drawing in the first place, though what he does often serves for future use in connection with his own work. From the old master he will take a group or a salient motive, and note it down with infinite gusto. From nature he will take the type, the movement that charms him, and though he may or may not utilise what he has got, he never deliberately sits down to prepare entire designs which shall serve as the groundwork for any even of his most crowded and important canvases. These are and remain, therefore, in a certain sense improvisations of the more deliberate order, in which pictorial notes and memoranda are worked up, but without any hard-and-fast plan controlling and shaping the work from the very beginning.¹ Of course among the drawings many motives and figures may be recognised which appear again in the paintings, but even then by no means invariably in the order in which they are first noted.

¹ Among the exceptions are the two drawings from the *Seasons* cited as in his own possession by M. de Goncourt. Reproductions are to be found in the *Figures de différents Caractères* of complete drawings for *La Marmotte*, *La Fileuse*, *La Finette*, and *L'Indifférent*. These being all single figures, even in the originals, may be taken as exceptions which prove the rule. M. de Goncourt possesses also in his collection some very spirited designs for purely decorative pieces which still survive in engravings.



Dessiné par Watteau.

et Gravé par Thomassin le fils.

"Sous un habit de Mezzétin," by Watteau. From the engraving by Thomassin fils.

Thus the drawing No. 251 in the Public Exhibition (Malcolm Collection) shows two studies of women's heads which reappear in the painting *Sous un Habit de Mezzetin*, but no longer juxtaposed. There is again a red chalk study in the British Museum (1891-7-13-2) of boys playing with a goat, in the style of Fiammingo (François Duquesnoy) which is utilised for the fountain in *La Cascade*, and also in *La Famille*.¹

In the *Figures de différents Caractères* are etchings after several drawings for figures in the picture *L'Occupation selon l'Âge* (engraved by Dupuis).² These instances are taken at random, and might be indefinitely multiplied. Still, the broad fact remains that Watteau drew, as a rule, for the sake of indulging in the pleasure of exercising his unrivalled facility and sensitiveness of eye and hand. Even he, so mistrustful of himself as a painter, so easily disgusted with his finished work, felt and gloried in his supremacy and magic charm as a draughtsman. We have it from Gersaint that he preferred his drawings, even to the most perfect among his pictures, that he took more pleasure in drawing than in painting, that he was furious with himself because he could not, or deemed that he could not, in painting perpetuate all the vivacious and truthful touches which with his pencil he so inimitably rendered.

When we come to consider more closely the position of Watteau the painter with regard to the Venetians with whom he for the first time came into contact in the Crozat Collection, we shall not find it possible to agree entirely with the statement of Mantz: "C'est-là qu'il apprit à peindre ces carnations chaudes et giorgionesques dont on ne se lasse pas d'admirer les colorations ambrées." Watteau commands the golden as well as the silver tone, his colour may often legitimately be described as *ambrée*, but it is so to the end rather with the glow of Rubens than with the golden effulgence of Giorgione and Titian. There is ever a foundation of grey in the half-tones even in the warmest flesh-tints, and they do not reveal the true Venetian mode, but, on the contrary, a more solid, compact impasto and a

¹ According to M. de Goncourt, this is, however, the copy or adaptation of a group by Sarrazin at Marly.

² Formerly in the collection of Miss James, and No. 50, at the "Old Masters" in 1891. In the same *Recueil* are several figures which re-appear in *Les Plaisirs du Bal* at Dulwich. Another striking drawing there reproduced is that of the negro boy lifting a bottle from a wine-cooler, to be found in the *Music Party*, engraved as *Les Charmes de la Vie*.



TWO GIRLS' HEADS FOR "SOUS UN HABIT DE MEZZETIN."

From the drawing by Watteau in the Malcolm Collection (British Museum).

brilliancy of another order. This is the case even with Watteau's most Titianesque performance, the *Jupiter et Antiope* in the La Caze section of the Louvre. Here the master of Cadore has avowedly been the model ; the scene, the subject, the warm sunset glow of the landscape enframing the figures are his, though the picture is not in the narrowest sense an imitation or an adaptation of Titian. Nevertheless, the actual flesh-painting with its rosy tints approaches, here as elsewhere, more nearly to Rubens than to the great Venetian ; but it is, indeed, in its differences both from the one and the other master, Watteau's own. It is amusing to note how the sensuousness inseparable from the subject becomes here, notwithstanding the undisguised effort of the painter to Venetianise, a piquant eighteenth-century sensuousness of the boudoir, and no longer the voluptuousness, ennobled by its very candour and simplicity, of sixteenth-century Venice.

Technically, Watteau owes much more to Paolo Veronese than to the group of true Venetians who traced their artistic descent from Giorgione. Akin to the method of the Veronese master is that frank juxtaposition of bright, sparkling tints, fused into a general harmony not so much by a nice balance among themselves, as by the quieting influence of silvery whites and greys introduced in large masses both in the dresses and more particularly in the architecture. The result, as in Veronese, is on the one hand by the law of value to give a more jewel-like brilliancy to the various contrasting colours, on the other to prevent them from unduly dominating so as to destroy the unity of tone. Especially in the use made of the florid Barocco and Louis XIV. architecture in such pictures, for example, as the *Plaisirs du Bal* (at Dulwich), the *Music Party* (otherwise *Les Charmes de la Vie*), in the collection of Lady Wallace at Hertford House, and *L'Amour au Théâtre français* (Berlin) does the influence of Paolo Veronese make itself manifest.

What Watteau now learnt from Giorgione and his school was something quite different, and even more essential. We cannot be sure that he saw any genuine Giorgione, though the exquisite *Concert champêtre* of the Louvre—one of the finest and most typical of that master's few extant works—was in the collection of Louis XIV., and if he saw and studied the *Kermesse* of Rubens there—as we know for certain that he did—there is no reason why he should not have seen and studied the *Concert*. In the Crozat Collection were, as has been seen, large series of drawings

given to Giorgione, a still larger number set down to Titian, and many avowedly by the imitator of both, Domenico Campagnola, to whom, moreover, must have belonged a good many of those catalogued as by his betters. Even without the evidence of Caylus that Watteau was fascinated by the leafy landscapes of Titian and Campagnola, we could scarcely fail from a contemplation of his work to conclude that the Venetian idyll of the early sixteenth century had opened his eyes and left upon his art an indelible impression. Such pictures as the foolishly-named *Le Lorgneur* (engraved by G. Scotin), and *La Lorgneuse* (engraved by the same),¹ are indeed happy transpositions into the eighteenth century mood of the Giorgionesque idyll, as reflected in the Campagnola drawings of a class now so familiar under their right name. And another composition, too, *Le tête-à-tête* (engraved by B. Audran), is purely Giorgionesque in conception.

It is not only, or indeed, principally in such pieces as these, in which the wave of Venetian influence is obvious and on the surface, that Watteau shows a spirit akin to that of the pastoral poet-painter of Venice. Take as an instance, one of the most beautiful and typical inventions of our master, the *Amour paisible* in the Neues Palais of Potsdam (engraved in reverse by J. de Favannes). Here the scene is essentially Watteau's own, and the delicately tempered vivacity altogether that of the budding eighteenth century. It is as if the art of the time tearing itself from the iron grasp of the *Grand Siècle*, as Spring in Botticelli's *Primavera* slips from the icy arms of Winter, had regained freedom, had come nearer to light and life—to nature unbound from the trammels of a petrifying conventionality. The very composition is a happy improvisation owing nothing to academic calculation or balance—as supremely successful as some of Watteau's improvisations are in this respect the reverse. Yet here the French painter of *Fêtes galantes* shows himself even more clearly in spirit a younger brother of the Venetian, than when he is less completely himself and more avowedly influenced. Watteau is, indeed, the Giorgione of a more degenerate and artificial age, and it may be this coming into contact, mediately or immediately, with him that set free our master's wings and fixed once for all the direction of his flight.

¹ Here, as no doubt in the great majority of instances, we must blame not the master himself, but the printsellers laying hold of *ad captandum* titles, and enlivening their engraved reproductions by the flattest and most commonplace of verses.



L'Amour Paisible, by Watteau. From the picture in the Royal Collection at Potsdam.

It is not only the community of subject that connects the art of the more recent with that of the earlier artist. There is the same love of humanity and of nature, and yet the same aloofness from actuality, the same withdrawal from contact with the more obvious and commonplace aspects of the world. There is the same striving in both to perpetuate the one exquisite moment in life and in the envioning nature indefinitely responding to that life ; to express the more strongly its exquisiteness by emphasising its evanescence, the ephemeral character of its charm. We are not so much above the everyday world, in an atmosphere of ideality, as aside from it, in an oasis of calm and pause where passion is lulled but not quenched, where the joy in music, in love, in life for itself, momentarily shuts out the past and the future. Yet not so wholly, after all, as to banish a subtly penetrating sense of melancholy—of regret, as it were, that the joy should be so short-lived, the glowing light so near extinction, that the strong crude realities of life should be in hiding so near at hand. The shrinking in both the painter-poets from too close a contact with subjects compelling the portrayal of strong human passion is another point in common.

Both can render with unequalled charm and with a pathos which we must feel, but may not, without destroying it, define, the informing sentiment, the essential character of a scene—its transposition into the lyrical and subjective mood. Neither will attempt to render even in an idealised and simplified form its more obvious dramatic significance or its objective character.

Only Giorgione is consciously the *Penseroso*—his melancholy is compounded of strong sensuous longing and of the aspiration to express, not dramatically, but physiognomically, the tragic passion of youth, the soul in self-contemplation. Watteau, only half conscious perhaps of the tendency of his art, of the colour which it receives from his ultra-sensitive temperament, assumes the *Allegro*, will attack none but joyous subjects dealing with the idle moments of life. He does so in absolute good faith, and with no conscious desire to infuse into his pictures of amorous dalliance or innocent gaiety anything but the spirit naturally belonging to them. Yet beware lest he be taken too literally at his word ; for then we shall miss the very essence of his artistic personality, the very thing in which, apart from an infinite technical superiority, he differs from his pupils and imitators, as he does, indeed, from all other French artists of the brilliant, superficial time to which he belongs.

CHAPTER III

*Les donneurs de sérénades,
Et les belles écouteuses,
Échangent des propos fades
Sous les ramures chanteuses.*

VERLAINE.

MANTZ indulges in the very reasonable conjecture that it was under the influence of the veteran Charles de la Fosse, who since 1707 had inhabited the Hôtel Crozat and had there decorated a gallery with the *Birth of Minerva*, that Watteau determined in 1712 to solicit admission to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.¹ It must be remembered that it was at the moment an absolute necessity for a painter practising on his own account to be enrolled in the ranks of the Academy, or alternatively to submit to the monopoly of the Corporation of St. Luke. On this particular point Gersaint, who must by this time have come into personal relations with our painter, might reasonably be supposed to be an authority. In his picturesque account he relates that Watteau conceived a great desire to go to Rome, to study there the great masters, and particularly the Venetians (!), whose colouring and composition excited his admiration. But being unable to undertake the journey at his own expense, he determined to solicit the grant of a pension from the king, and with this view caused the two little pictures painted for Sirois to be taken to the Academy. Starting without other friends or recommendation than his works, he had them placed in the saloon through which Messieurs de l'Académie were in the habit of passing,

¹ Mantz places as late as the end of 1715, or even in the beginning of 1716, the definitive occupation by Watteau of an apartment in the Hôtel Crozat. This would appear, however, to leave a very narrow margin of time for the full expansion of his art which was thereby undoubtedly brought about.

and they looking at them, were attracted, although unaware or careless who was the author. M. de la Fosse was even more attracted than the rest, and he took the trouble to make some inquiries at the Academy as to the painter. Obtaining the answer that the pictures were the work of a young man who had come to solicit the intercession of Messieurs de l'Académie, since he would obtain the king's pension and start travelling in Italy, M. de la Fosse, surprised, ordered the said young man to be introduced. Watteau appears; his figure is not imposing; he explains modestly the object of the step upon which he has ventured, and entreats that the favour asked may be accorded to him if he be deemed worthy. "My friend," replies with urbanity M. de la Fosse, "you are unaware of your own talent and distrustful of your powers. Believe me, you know more than we do, and we hold you capable of doing honour to the Academy. Take the formal steps: we consider you one of ourselves." Watteau thereupon retired—Gersaint laconically winds up—paid his visits, and was at once accepted. Mantz throws cold water upon this pretty story, and points out how glaringly improbable it is that La Fosse, in the presence of veterans like Jouvenet and Largillière, should have addressed young Watteau in such hyperbolical and altogether unofficial terms of praise; and the eminent French critic unkindly, yet not without some cause, concludes that honest Gersaint had *des aptitudes de journaliste*. On such a cardinal point as the taking to the Academy of Sirois's two pictures, one can hardly, all the same, make up one's mind without direct proof that Gersaint is altogether romancing, or is entirely misinformed. He may possibly, as Mantz suggests, be confusing or condensing two separate events. Mariette states that the pictures, or *one* of the pictures, upon which Watteau was accepted by the Academy was *Les Jaloux*¹ (engraved by G. Scotin), which, according to M. Edmond de Goncourt, was last heard of in 1786.

The fact remains that on the 30th of July, 1712, the Academy, having duly inspected the works presented by "*Antoine Watau, peintre,*

¹ Against this statement of Mariette's is the fact that *Les Jaloux* is one of the Comédie italienne series, and that it is thus unlikely that it should have been executed before the return of the Italian mummers in 1716. Variations of the same theme are the very similar *Pierrot content* (engraved by Jeaurat) with seven figures in lieu of five, and the less elaborate *Harlequin jaloux* (engraved by Chedel).

né à Valenciennes," pronounces by vote his admission. The subject of his diploma picture (*Ouvrage de Réception*) is left to his own choice, Coypel and Barrois being nominated to be present while he works. It is to be noted that by an exceptional favour the choice of the work upon which will depend the definitive admission of Watteau as a full Academician is left to him: as a rule it is prescribed at the time of the probationary admission, and moreover a sketch-design must be submitted before the work itself is undertaken. Our painter's master, the fantastic Gillot, had to submit, like others, to this rule.

Was it before or after the sojourn at Crozat's that is to be placed that period of instability and physical restlessness so graphically described by Caylus? Apparently before the definitive settling down in the magnificent hotel of the rue de Richelieu—and yet the words of the too candid friend apply equally well to both the earlier and the later periods, and perhaps even more aptly to the latter than the former.

We learn that he was no sooner established in a lodging than he took a dislike to it. He changed again and again, and always on some pretext which, out of very shame at his own inconstancy, he endeavoured to make as specious as possible. "He felt himself most at ease," says Caylus, "in rooms which I (from time to time) engaged in different quarters of Paris, and which were used only for designing from the model, painting, and drawing. In those retreats, entirely dedicated to art, he and I with a mutual friend (Hénin) enjoyed, in freedom from all importunity, the pure joy that youth, stimulated by the vivacity of the imagination can give, both gifts serving to enhance the charms of painting. I may say that Watteau, elsewhere so atrabilious, so timid, so caustic, was here in very truth the Watteau of his pictures; that is the personage whom they conjure up for us—agreeable, tender, and even a little Arcadian (*même un peu berger*)."¹ It must be owned that Caylus—a mediocre and pretentious judge of painting, although he

¹ It is not at present possible to fix with any degree of certainty the date when Watteau took as his apprentice his fellow-townsmen Jean-Baptiste Pater. The latter was born in 1696, so that when our painter returned to Valenciennes in 1709 he was only eleven years old. When his father, the sculptor, Antoine Pater (whose portrait by Watteau still exists in the museum of Valenciennes) sent him to Paris to study painting he could not well have been less than sixteen or seventeen, and we may safely place the beginning of the abortive apprenticeship after the preliminary acceptance of

dabbled himself in the art—was a keen if not a sympathetic judge of character. Though the lines of his portrait are here too deeply bitten, it is outlined with a rare skill, and even, in the last passage, with a rare charm. It coincides so perfectly with what Gersaint says, and also with what we must infer as to our painter's physical temperament, that there can remain but little doubt as to its substantial accuracy.

Here is Gersaint's portrait, which in a few sentences places the man even more vividly before us, though the true friend must have had a moment of retrospective exasperation when he drew it.

“Watteau was of medium height and of a weak constitution; his character was unrestful and changing; he was strong in will, not burdened by moral scruple, yet of virtuous conduct (*libertin d'esprit, mais sage de mœurs*). He was impatient, timid, cold and embarrassed in general intercourse, discreet and reserved with strangers, a good but an unmanageable friend. He was misanthropic, a bitter and incisive critic, always discontented with himself and others, and of unforgiving disposition. He loved reading, which was the only amusement that he allowed himself in his leisure, and, though without much instruction, he showed some sureness of judgment in appreciating the creations of the intellect.”

At about this time, or it may be a year or two later, should be placed the best portrait we have of the master by himself—the etching by Boucher after Watteau's own drawing, which appears in Julienne's *Figures de différents Caractères*. Here he is already the painter who has achieved success; his fur-trimmed coat, although for the time simple, is rich and costly; he wears the long, flowing, but not outrageous wig still in his day a necessary complement of full dress, and which is still worn by the fashionable personages in the *Enseigne de Gersaint* (1721). The wandering distrustful eye, the feverish, expressive hands, the face too drawn and marked for youth—all these bear out the picture of Watteau's physical temperament so firmly sketched by Caylus and Gersaint. In another portrait, of which only the engraving by Tardieu is now known

Watteau by the Academy—but at what exact date? The impatience and atrabilious humour of Watteau were the cause that the connection came to a premature end. We shall see that the master in his last moments made the most touching atonement for his harshness and injustice.



Watteau pinxit.

Boucher Sculp.

Portrait of Watteau by himself. From the engraving by Boucher.

to exist, Watteau appears with his friend and patron M. de Julienne in a leafy landscape—the former painting, the latter playing on the violoncello.¹

MM. de Goncourt have even gone so far as to recognise his features in those of the musician who in *Le Lorgneur* charms the leisure of an amorous couple ; but if he be indeed there, it is only as the first model to hand. The brilliant historians of the art of the eighteenth century, stepping for once into what is too oblique and insecure a side-path of conjecture, would have us recognise here the poet-painter, looking on morose and *ennuyé*, at the doings of the gay, ephemeral creatures whom his fantasy has called into being.

Nothing is so hazardous as to attempt in the present state of our knowledge of Watteau a hard-and-fast classification of his works from technical considerations alone, although these must of course serve as our chief guide. With painters of this peculiar stamp, depending so much upon impulse, and the impression, the surrounding circumstances of the moment, there must be certain technical exceptions and experiments calculated to upset or confuse the most legitimate inferences. Dohme, like the valiant and accomplished German savant that he was, made the attempt, basing his classification mainly upon the examples in the collections of the Royal House of Prussia, and more particularly upon those shown in the Berlin Exhibition of Old Masters held in 1883—and he did so with a fair measure of success. Mantz, writing some years afterwards, declined the task, considering that the *Œuvre* of our master was so scattered through the museums of Europe, and the private collections of Germany, England, France, and Russia, that nothing more than approximative results could at present be achieved.

To a period when Watteau had not yet abandoned Gersaint's *ton vigoureux* for the more amiable *ton fleuri* belongs *Les Bergers* (Neues Palais, Potsdam), of which a smaller and riper example (engraved by Tardieu as *Le Plaisir pastoral*) is in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale at Chantilly. This constitutes in the treatment of the subject a transition between the *bergerie* and the ornate *fête galante* as the painter afterwards conceived it. Dohme has called attention to the want of ease in the drawing of certain figures, and the failure to hit off

¹ The original, a drawing in three chalks, was No. 776 in Julienne's sale.

the appropriate movement in a few of them. To this same period of transition preceding full maturity would appear to belong the picture *L'Heureuse Rencontre* in the collection of M. Marcel Bernstein (etched by M. Ad. Lalauze for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1890, vol. i.). Here again a want of flexibility is to be noted in the dainty figures, and there is a distinct failure to fix on the canvas that particular effect of momentariness in the advancing movement of the personages which has been aimed at, and is indeed essential to the subject.

The charming *L'Amour paisible* (engraved by J. de Favannes), upon which, as has been shown, the art of Venice, the spirit of Giorgione, has left its stamp, approaches somewhat in tone to the pieces of the transitional period. Yet the atmosphere of idyllic poetry in which it is enveloped, the mysterious charm of the vague melting distance, are so many arguments in favour of its being placed somewhat nearer to the first version of the *Embarquement pour Cythère*.¹ Before this last-named masterpiece (1717), which marks the culminating point of Watteau's technical achievement and the full expansion of his imaginative power, must, in the opinion of the writer, be placed a whole group of works containing a number of small figures, in which the colouring already has the richness, the vivacity, the happy daring in the juxtaposition of tints, which Watteau can only have learnt from a close contact with Rubens and the Venetians in the Crozat Collection, yet the treatment does not show in the fullest measure the piquancy, the elegance or the transforming poetry which marks those inventions of which the *Embarquement* is the loveliest and the most typical. At the fashionable concerts and routs of the Hôtel Crozat, and at the garden-parties which we may imagine to have been given in the grounds of the financier's ornate villa at Montmorency, Watteau, as the *protégé* of the house, came into contact with the world of fashion, and had ample opportunities for studying the gleam of light on satin, crimson, amber, blue, or white; the mannered grace, the voluptuous charm, tempered by a certain outward reticence, of the ladies, the nervous elegance, the finely-turned muscular limbs of the gallants, the rhythmic measure

¹ This *L'Amour paisible* is not to be confounded with the later work engraved under the same name by Baron, and of which it is assumed that it was painted during the artist's stay in England. It is the latter which was included in Dr. Mead's sale in 1754, with the *Comédiens italiens*, and there fetched £42.

of the dance. True, in the group of works now to be discussed the quasi-rustic element still has a large part; but it is a rusticity not like that which colours the earlier and more Flemish Watteaus, but one lightly worn by people more gently and artificially nurtured.

In the Museum of the Prado at Madrid (No. 2083, catalogue of 1882) is a picture representing the preparations for a marriage and bearing a sort of family resemblance to the *Accordée de Village*, of which according to M. E. de Goncourt it is the precursor.¹ There, as in this last-named piece, the young bride sits under a suspended canopy or coronal of white flowers. Madrid possesses another and an admirable Watteau (No. 2084 *ibid.*) catalogued as *View in the Gardens of St. Cloud with Fountains and a Thicket*.

Of the veritable *Accordée de Village* (engraved by N. de Larmessin) there are no less than three examples extant, all three of them, in the opinion of the writer, originals. These differ slightly the one from the other in dimensions, and also in the arrangement of the landscape background; but no photographic reproductions being available for the purposes of comparison, it is difficult to say from which particular example Larmessin engraved, or what are the exact differences which are to be noted in the grouping of the figures. There is nothing that need alarm us in the fact that three originals exist from the hand of the master closely resembling each other in treatment. Take, first, the typical instance of *L'Embarquement pour Cythère*, of which the prior example is in the Louvre, the later and much more elaborate one in the Royal Palace at Berlin. Watteau, indeed, reproduces yet again one of the main episodes of his *magnum opus* in the *Bon Voyage*—unless we are to assume that we have here the first idea, the bud from which the full blossom was afterwards matured. Then there is the instance of *L'Amour pastoral*, already cited, of which one version is at Berlin, the other at Chantilly. And again the *Music Lesson* in the Hertford House Collection has for its companions the much larger canvas (also there) called *The Music Party*, and engraved as *Les Charmes de la Vie*, and the *Concert* of the Royal Collection at Berlin. It has been seen, too, that *Pierrot content* is but a repetition somewhat further elaborated of *Les Jaloux*, which itself would appear to spring

¹ It is in some respects nearer still to the more elaborate *Signature du Contrat* in the Arenberg Collection.

from *Harlequin jaloux*. The version of the *Accordée de Village* at the Sloane Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields is an undoubted original, but, alas! little more now than a ruin, though here and there a gleam of jewel-like colour emerges which speaks unmistakably for the hand of the master himself. The poor *accordée*, who sits with her companions backed by a dais of red cloth, is almost entirely wiped out. A second version infinitely better preserved than this, and remarkable for the richness of the colour, is in the collection of Mrs. Broadwood.¹

The third version is that lent to the "Old Masters," on the occasion of the notable display of French pictures in 1889, by Mr. Alfred de Rothschild.² The recollection of the writer is somewhat less distinct as to this example, but he derived the impression that it maintained itself among the works of the master then at Burlington House, not as one of the most remarkable, but yet as an original. The background here shows a castle on high ground behind trees, while in Mrs. Broadwood's picture we find, instead of the castle, farm buildings, with a village church and cottages to the left. Larmessin's engraving agrees as to the background better with Mr. de Rothschild's example than with Mrs. Broadwood's. To this same group belongs the once admirable *Mariée de Village*, a composition of more than a hundred figures (engraved by C. N. Cochin), which is in the Sans-Souci Palace at Potsdam. We know from Dohme that the picture is so terribly ruined, so blackened and faded, that it was not judged worthy to take its place in the often-cited Exhibition of Old Masters at Berlin in 1883. Only the little heads have survived, and they stand out strangely, protected by the wonderful enamel-like impasto in which they are worked. This same even impasto in the faces is a typical sign of the productions of the mature period, and especially of those now under consideration.

Another important work giving a variation of the same theme is the *Signature du Contrat* in the gallery of the Duc d'Arenberg at Brussels (engraved by A. Cardon), the receipt for which, signed by Watteau, is said to be preserved in the archives of that family. Here a hundred figures are scattered about a park with fountains, cottages, tents, and clumps of fine trees. Bürger takes this picture to belong to the extreme

¹ No. 43 at the "Old Masters" in 1892. Canvas, 22½ by 30½ inches.

² No. 107 *ibid.* in 1889. Canvas, 21 by 26½ inches.

youth of the painter, but this can scarcely be the case. His subjects, except in decoration pure and simple, were then quite other, and he had not until somewhat later on acquired the experience which would have enabled him to deal successfully with so vast a number of figures.

A *Fête champêtre*, belonging to the same class as the foregoing series of works, and consisting like them of groups of small figures of gem-like colouring, partly overshadowed by the dark masses of noble trees, is in the collection of Colonel Edward Browell, R.A., at Woolwich. This picture appears to have hitherto escaped the engraver and the cataloguer, yet it is, in the opinion of the writer, who has seen and examined it carefully, beyond reasonable doubt genuine.

A little later on, and we come to one of the masterpieces of Watteau, the inimitable *Plaisirs du Bal* of the Dulwich Gallery (engraved in reverse by G. Scotin), a picture the popularity of which in and after the artist's own time is shown by the fact that several repetitions or copies are known to exist, of which one, by Pater, is in the grand collection at Hertford House, and another, the author of which cannot be named, in the Neues Palais at Potsdam. That it was at the time of Watteau's greatest vogue in the last century looked upon as one of his most notable works is proved by the fact that it is among the very few mentioned by name by Caylus.¹ Here we have the true, complete Watteau at last, brought to ripeness by the study of Rubens and the Venetians, his masters, but all himself now, no less when he executes than when he imagines. The composition is in its unconventional freedom—with its massing of numerous small figures at the sides, and its great airy space in the middle, devoted to the minuet dancers—one of Watteau's happiest. The *mise-en-scène*, though its component parts—its costume, its architecture, its park-like scenery, and its cool, gleaming fountain—were those which the painter was enabled to take direct from his own surroundings, has an element in it of the fantastic, an indefinable something of the fairy tale, of the "light that never was on sea or land." We think less here of the Luxembourg, or St. Cloud, or the palaces and gardens of indolent delight where the Parabère and her rivals disported themselves—willing

¹ He cites it as *Le Bal*. A drawing by Watteau for the dancing gentleman is in the Louvre, and seven other studies for figures in the picture have been engraved from the master's drawings in the *Figures de différents Caractères*.



FIVE STUDIES OF LADIES SEATED ON THE GROUND.
From the drawing by Watteau in the Malcolm Collection (British Museum).

nymphs to whom the Regent of France played satyr—than of some ball in a land of enchantment, in which a *prince charmant*, wearing the dainty garb of the eighteenth century, figures, under the eyes of a brilliant court, with the loveliest and most enamoured of princesses. Yet there is no reason to assume that Watteau deliberately set to work to produce any such effect as this, or that, in lifting his work a little above the everyday world, in expressing its poetic essence without falsifying its elements, he worked with that sort of deliberate self-consciousness which belongs rather to the literary artist, or to the painter working according to literary methods, than to the painter born, who sees his subject ready-made in the mind's eye. No doubt, too, the present state of the picture, the deepening and partial disintegration of the shadows, the consequent emergence with a curious glitter of the high-lights on the flesh and draperies, given in solid impasto, lends to the piece an air of mystery such as it did not wear to the same degree when it was fresh.

It is, above all, here and in the beautiful little *Assemblée dans un Parc* in the La Caze section of the Louvre that we find those *étoffes de soie toujours sujettes à donner des petits plis*, which Caylus especially notes.¹ In these pieces the mannerism of the innumerable little folds and wrinkles of satin and silk which, standing out, catch the light on their ridges, is carried to a point of exaggeration sufficiently striking to mark them out even among works of their class. The same peculiarity, though in a much less accentuated form, is to be noted in the masterly little *Champs Elysées* of the Hertford House Collection (engraved in the dimensions of the original by Tardieu).² This last is as a composition one of the happiest and most unconventional things that even Watteau has left behind. The company of ladies is scattered on the grass with a seeming carelessness, but a really exquisite skill, and with them the little group of children on the one hand and the figures of two cavaliers and a recumbent nymph of stone on the other make lines as harmonious as they are remote for the drawing-master's ideal. Here we find children

¹ These curious little folds are given in truer and more convincing fashion than in the paintings in a unique drawing in sanguine, No. 246 in the public exhibition at the British Museum (Malcolm Collection), showing from the back, in several positions, the figures of two ladies seated on the ground (see p. 54).

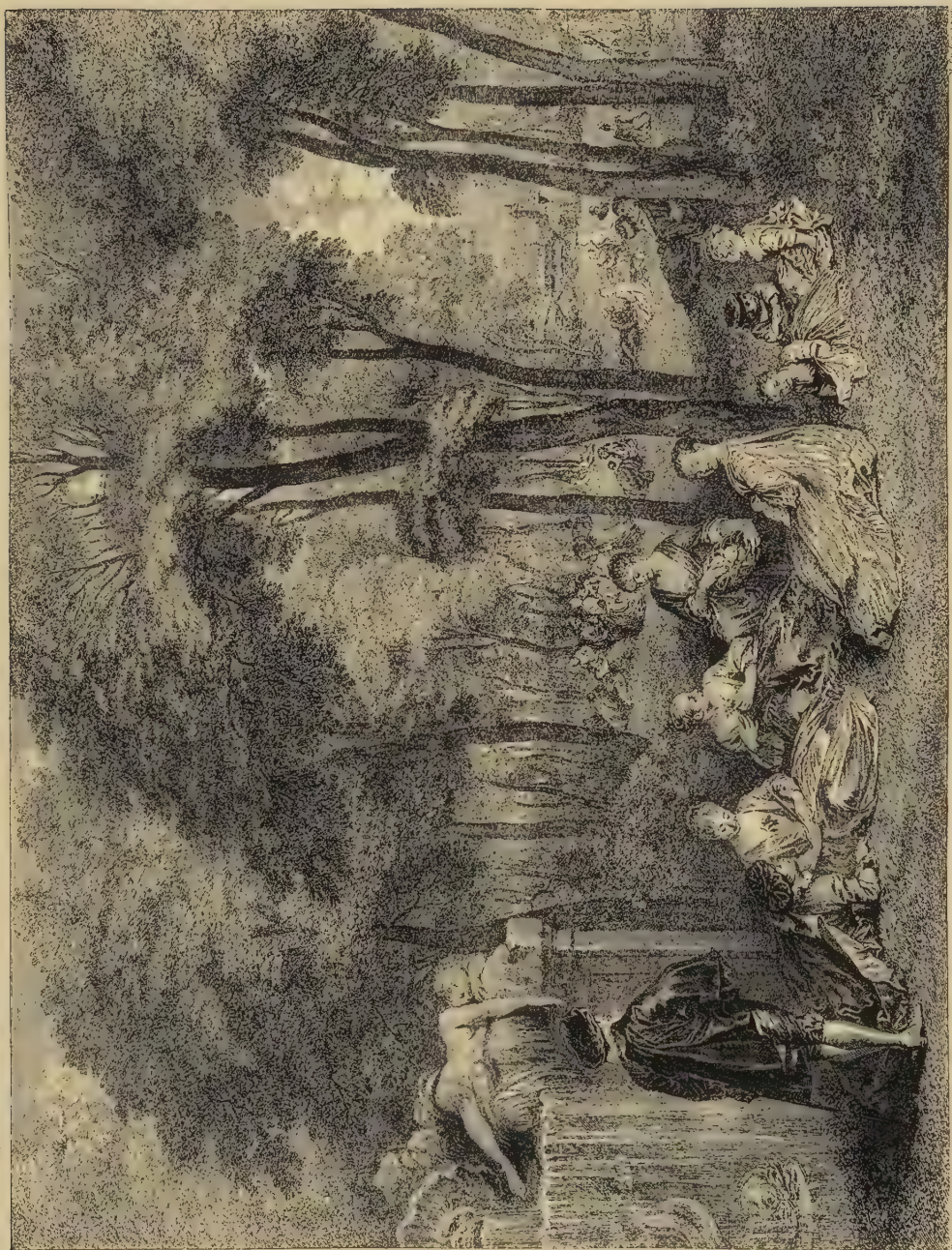
² No. 93 at the "Old Masters" in 1889.

depicted with that sympathetic charm, that natural expression of childish gaiety, which up to our master's time had been so rare in the later art, save that of his exemplar Rubens; but at the same time with a certain stiffness and an occasional failure to hit upon the true movement which is not to be noted in the drawings. This remark applies only to the clothed children, and not to those irresistible naked *amorini* of the *Embarquement* which with a more delightful vivacity, a more delicate charm, emulate those of the Antwerp master himself. The most successful of all Watteau's paintings of children is that very small panel *Heureux Âge! Âge d'Or!* (engraved by Tardieu) which is in the collection of Mr. Alfred de Rothschild.¹ Another piece of similar character, but vastly increased dimensions is the *Iris, c'est de bonne heure avoir l'air à la Danse* in the Neues Palais at Potsdam. Here the figures are—a rather unusual thing in paintings of the class to which it belongs—about one quarter life-size, and the handling is a little empty, the whole wanting in the usual vivacity. The anonymous engraving on a very small scale disguises these defects, and for once gives in some respects a better idea of the picture than it deserves.²

The Dulwich *Plaisirs du Bal* has suffered something from the outrages of time and the imprudent methods of execution adopted by the painter; yet nothing like as much as the ruined *Accordée* in the Sloane Museum, the *Faux Pas* in the La Caze Gallery at the Louvre (laid bare, moreover, by the cleaner), the hopelessly destroyed *Mariée de Village* of Potsdam, or the cracked and wrinkled *Leçon d'Amour* in the same Royal Collection—to take only such instances as occur to the writer at the moment. All Watteau's biographers are in agreement as to the carelessness of his technique in some material particulars, and especially in his abuse of *huile grasse* (thick linseed oil). Caylus, who saw his master at work, and on a point like this may be trusted, says that when he began painting again upon a canvas he was in the habit of rubbing it over with thick oil,

¹ No. 86 at the "Old Masters" in 1889.

² The *Iris* would appear to belong to a later time in Watteau's career than the one we are now discussing, but the period of his maturity (1712–1721) being so short, it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to place even conjecturally in their chronological order the works comprised within it. Comparison by means of photography comes to our assistance, but cannot be wholly relied upon where colour plays so all-important a part as it does in the master's works.



Les Champs Elysées by Watteau. From the engraving by N. Tardieu.

and then painting afresh on the top of this, paying dearly in the result for the momentary advantage thus gained. Rarely too—says the same authority—did he clean his palette, and it often remained for days unrenewed. The pot of thick oil of which he made such lavish use was filled with refuse and dirt, and mixed up with the colours of all sorts



Watteau pinxit

La Danse ("Iris c'est de bonne heure"), by Watteau. From the anonymous engraving.

which came off his brushes when he dipped them in. Gersaint, a much kinder critic as a rule, says: "That he might the more promptly get rid of work which he had begun and was compelled to finish, he was in the habit of charging his brush with a quantity of thick oil, in order to lay on his colour the more easily. It must be owned that some of his pictures are from this cause perishing from day to

day ; that they have entirely changed colour and have become hopelessly dirty in aspect. On the other hand those which are exempt from this defect are admirable, and will always hold their own in the most famous collections."

The writer confesses to some doubt as to where exactly to place the *Occupation selon l'Âge*, of which Mantz laments the disappearance, while admitting dubitatively that it may be the picture mentioned in J. W. Mollett's biography (1883) as being in the collection of Mr. Andrew James. There can, however, be no doubt in the mind of any one who has seen this last picture¹ that it is indeed the original work engraved by Dupuis, and for which so unusual a number of preparatory studies can be traced. A certain emptiness in the handling of the comparatively large figures, a lack of that jewel-like brilliancy of colour which distinguishes the works of the mature period might lead to the conclusion that it is at any rate earlier than the first version of the *Embarquement*; but, on the other hand, the execution has a breadth which points to the later time. This is a pleasing piece of semi-realism, showing some of that charm and bourgeois simplicity which we find afterwards in Chardin, with more insistence on grace and amiability and a less convincing truth than distinguishes the works of the later master. We have here realism of a kind that could not well have been observed in Valenciennes, the Flemish border-city, but must have been studied in the circle of those gentle, cultured, well-to-do citizens, among whom Watteau was thrown in Paris, both before and after the period of his residence in that paradise of art and fashion, the Hôtel Crozat.

With *L'Occupation selon l'Âge* may be grouped the *Repas de Campagne* (engraved by Desplaces), though in this last is to be noted a touch of sentimental rusticity, such as Greuze in France and, in a different fashion, Gainsborough in England afterwards developed to excess at the expense of truth.

All this time the painters Barrois and Antoine Coypel, appointed by the French Academy to supervise the execution of Watteau's diploma piece, had found their office a sinecure, for the artist, busy with his

¹ No. 50 at the "Old Masters" in 1891, from the collection of the late Miss James, and soon afterwards sold at Christie's for 5,200 guineas. No. 55 in same exhibition was *L'Accord parfait* from the same collection, there called *A Garden Party*.

studies at Crozat's and his pictures, had been too pleasantly and too profitably occupied to complete his noviciate by the production of the required masterpiece. Be it remembered that not only figuratively, but actually, must the piece upon which depended the definitive election of the member be executed in the Louvre, where the Academy was domiciled, and, what is more, under the eyes of the appointed inspectors.¹

Already, on January 5th, 1714, the Academy had called upon Watteau to explain his delay,² and at the first sitting of 1715 another call to order was recorded. On January 25th, 1716, we find the Academy, indulgent beyond its wont, according to the *Sieur Watteau* another delay, and yet again on January 9th, 1717, giving him one month more—evidently this time a last final chance.

Watteau now resigns himself to his fate, and, finding his way again to the Louvre, paints there as hastily as may be the *Embarquement pour Cythère*, one of the glories of French art, and on the whole, though it is in some respects rather a brilliant sketch than a finished picture, the masterpiece of the artist.

At the sitting of August 28th, 1717, the Academy, having taken cognisance of this picture, which it styles in its minutes a *feste galante*, formally receives Watteau and admits him to the privileges of full membership. That he at this moment already enjoys considerable fame with his brother artists is shown by the fact that the meeting is an exceptionally brilliant one, the minutes being signed by most of the eminent painters, sculptors, and engravers attached to the Academy, among them being Watteau's old master Gillot, who has himself been received in 1715.

This version of the *Embarquement* has, fortunately for France, never quitted the Louvre, which inherited it from the Academy with the other *morceaux de réception*.

To follow Théophile Gautier and MM. de Goncourt, both of whom have expended their finest verbal magic in describing the Louvre picture, would be an ungrateful task; and, moreover, a fresh description is rendered unnecessary by the reproduction here given, not, however,

¹ This mode of proceeding survives in our own day in the competitions for the Prix de Rome, which are carried on by the students working *en loge* under supervision.

² Mantz, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1889, vol. i.



L'Embarquement pour Cythère.

From the picture in the Royal Palace at Paris.

from the first version which remains in France, but from that more finished and elaborate painting now in the Royal Palace of Berlin. This last was in the possession of Julienne at the time his famous work, reproducing the *Œuvre* of Watteau, was in the course of publication. It was engraved by Nicholas-Henri Tardieu for that series and published in 1733. Gautier's prose actually paints for us over again, in words which, in their exquisite finish of phrase, lose nothing of the spontaneity or charm which is here of the essence of the subject, the poetic fantasy of the eighteenth-century master. "But what words," he says in conclusion, "could describe the colour, so tender, so vaporous—so ideal, so well chosen to express a dream of youth and happiness, bathed in fresh azure, and in the distance enveloped in a luminous haze, made to glow in the foreground with the transparency of light, warm shadows—truthful as nature, yet brilliant as the apotheosis in an opera? Rubens and Paul Veronese would willingly recognise in Watteau one of their descendants."

And then MM. de Goncourt, refraining from a challenge to Gautier on his own ground, expand their descriptions of the colour and technique in the *Embarquement* into a veritable wheel of coloured fire, dazzling and confusing the reader more than they really instruct him.

To estimate the master-work at its true worth, to appreciate what a novelty, what a revival of poetry and fancy it was in the pictorial art of the world, one must remember that in 1717 Louis XIV. had been but two years dead, the Regency was but two years old, the eighteenth century was as yet in its infancy. And then it was—with the works of which it is the apex and the typical instance—the first genuine painted poem that Europe had seen since the golden days of the Venetian Renaissance. And by this is not meant a poem in the literary sense, a laboured, chilling allegory depending for its adequate comprehension on all sorts of extraneous circumstances, but a rainbow-hued picture of humanity and nature, presented in the beautifying yet not misleading, light of the imagination—the true vision transcribed by the answering hand of the poet-painter. The seventeenth century had been a great period—we may say as great even as its predecessor in the centuries, when we remember that its protagonists were Rembrandt, Rubens, Velasquez; but art of this peculiar type it had not produced,

unless in the works, minute in dimensions and execution, but in conception noble and aspiring, of Adam Elsheimer.¹

It may be that the painter had vaguely in view the renewal of Cytherea's reign, the breaking loose again of life and love, after that period of solemnity and repression when the *Grand Monarque*, old and weary, was unconsciously dominated by the sham prude, Mme. de Maintenon. If so, he has transformed and re-created by the magic of his art a subject which in other hands might have become either a mere, insipid, allegorical-mythological decoration or a pretty, vapid, slightly prurient piece of eighteenth-century genre. Think how flat and trivial, with all his piquancy and decorative skill, Lancret would have been under the same conditions ; how merely empty and mechanical in his grace and charm Pater ; how heavy and literal in his expression of amorous conversation De Troy ; how prurient and how conventional at the same time that most skilful and ready of designers, Boucher ! Only Fragonard—the Watteau of the century in its decline—could have coloured such a subject as this with the creative power that was in him. He, indeed, would have sent a pulsation of ardent passion through his love-pilgrims of which Watteau was incapable, while lending to his scene a measure of the same half-artificial, half-natural charm ; but then his Cytherea would have been frankly the goddess of the lower, the more animal love.

It is when Watteau is face to face with the undraped female form that he comes nearest to the common earth, and it would be idle to deny that here we occasionally find, in the least offensive form, however, that suggestiveness which belongs peculiarly to his century. Curiously enough this is to be noted less in such paintings as the *Diane au Bain* (engraved by P. Aveline),² or the *Toilet* of the Hertford House collection,³ or the pretty numerous drawings in which the nude figure is studied,⁴ than in

¹ Imagination of another and an infinitely higher order was shown by Rembrandt in those sublime visions in which he re-created the scenes of the great sacred drama ; but here we are on altogether different ground.

² Now in the collections of M. Stéphane Bourgeois, of Paris, who acquired it recently in or near London.

³ No. 108 at the "Old Masters" in 1889.

⁴ Some of those which in his last moments the master considered too free in expression were brought together by him and destroyed.



*Divertissement champêtre ("Das Liebesfest"), by Watteau. From the picture in the
Dresden Gallery.*

the painted representations of divinities sculptured in stone or marble. Take as instances the Goddess of Love with three cupids in the second version of the *Embarquement*, the very similar figure in the so-called *Fête d'Amour* at Dresden, the too substantial nymph of stone so intently gazed at by a cavalier in the *Fête champêtre* of the same gallery, the equally unclassical figure in the *Leçon d'Amour*, the recumbent nymph with an urn in the *Champs Elysées*. The treatment of the female form recalls here a little the Flemish mode in its frankness and unabashed realism, but is all the same, in its development in the direction of elegance, distinctively French, and personal to the artist. There is more of flesh than of marble in these figures, colourless stone as they are; the Venus is alert, piquant, and Parisian in her aggressive and purely human charm, unless she is directly copied from the *Venus of the Capitol* type, as in the already-cited *Portraits of Julienne and Watteau*. The nymphs are of the Seine rather than of any more classical provenance.

But to return for a moment after this too long digression to the *Embarquement* of the Louvre. Some part of the indefinable charm which the picture exercises is due to the visionary character of the landscape with its far-stretching distance of calm waters backed by snow-capped mountains tipped with rose; to the all-pervading sunny atmosphere which enwraps, and brings into a golden unity of tone, the brilliant little groups and figures with their sheeny garments of rose, yellow, blue, *gorge de pigeon*, and purplish violet. Is it not Bürger who says, in describing *La Finette*, that Watteau paints not so much the colours of things as the colours of the air—a pretty but extreme way of putting the fact that he subtly observes, and allows for, the influence of open-air atmospheric effect in bringing together and modifying the myriad jewel-like hues of his palette, and that when he paints sunlight he concedes to it the domination which it really has over individual colours.

The second and definitive version is, as has already been pointed out, the one formerly in the possession of Julienne, and now one of the greatest treasures of the Royal Palace at Berlin. It is evident that Watteau himself regarded this as the finished picture, the Louvre version only as the preliminary effort. There are in fact in it, as compared with the latter, many improvements. Thus, to take one out of many instances, the stone term of Venus in the earlier version becomes in the Berlin



La Finette, by Watteau. From the picture in the La Caze Collection at the Louvre.

picture the charming full-length statue of the goddess with cupids ; the bee-like swarm of loves who hover in mid-air above the brilliant galley which is to carry the pilgrims is denser, better poised and balanced in No. 2 than in No. 1. The right-hand group near the statue receives many additions ; the little god who nestles, subtly persuasive, into the skirts of the undecided beauty being, moreover, naked instead of half-clothed in the piquant pilgrim garb—a very doubtful improvement this. The gilded ship of the pilgrimage is more clearly defined, and the actual embarkation of the amorous couples indicated. The vaporous, undefined sea of No. 1 becomes more like a closed lake in No. 2—another doubtful improvement. Thus holes in the composition are filled up, defects corrected, figures and groups elaborated and improved. Yet, with all this, in the *Embarquement* of Berlin, beautiful as it is, and in its admirable state of preservation one of the finest of extant Watteaus, some of the light, some of the original inspiration of the subject, some of the pictorial charm has died out. The conception is more accurately defined, and perhaps for that very reason less beautiful. In the little piece *Bon Voyage*, known now only in the engraving of Audran, we have the chief incident of the *Embarquement*—the love-pilgrim seeking to persuade his fair companion to join the expedition ; but here he pleads unaided by the naughty little Cupid who acts as go-between in the complete picture. It seems likely on the whole that we have in *Bon Voyage* the first idea for the *Embarquement* rather than an echo of one of its most charming motives ; but the point is not easy to decide without some evidence beyond the comparison of the two compositions.

In another painted poem of a most seductive languor, *L'Ile enchantée* (engraved by P. le Bas), we have a fair land of dreams, on the mist-enwrapped shores of which the pilgrims of the *Embarquement* might well have landed to disport themselves.

It is a little difficult again to place exactly that exceptional work the *Holy Family* (engraved by Jeanne Renard du Bos),¹ because there is practically nothing of its own kind available for comparison with it. We may, however, fairly surmise that it is that *Repos de la Sainte Famille* mentioned by Watteau, in a letter (unfortunately not dated) addressed to Julianne, as being destined for the Abbé de Noirterre in return for

¹ Now in the Imperial Palace of Gatchina, near St. Petersburg.

the present of a picture by Rubens—apparently an *Assumption*—of which the painter says that since he has seen it he cannot remain still, his eyes being drawn again and again towards the canvas on the desk where he has placed it. If this identification be accepted, the date of the picture would be about that of the *Rendezvous de Chasse*, that is some time in 1720.¹

Of a whole little series of works we may assume with tolerable certainty that they belong to the period immediately after the *Embarquement*, since one of them, the *Music Lesson* in the Hertford House Collection,² was engraved by L. Surugue in 1719, and published with that date. This, with its play of light and shadow, its silvery tone and exquisite finish, is one of the finest of Watteau's small paintings, although the musician playing on a long-handled guitar is not happily hit off either in expression or movement. The *Concert* in the collection of the Royal House of Prussia is a kind of repetition or re-arrangement of this last-named piece; and the much larger *Music Party* at Hertford House³ (engraved as *Les Charmes de la Vie*, by Aveline) is again a development of the same theme, much as the *Embarquement* may have been a development of the *Bon Voyage*. In this important though much injured work, Veronese, with his silver tone and his bright, stimulating chords of colour, is in the ascendant. With these pictures, in which music is the central motive, may conveniently be classed *L'Accord parfait* (engraved by Baron), formerly in the collection of Miss James, the *Leçon d'Amour* in the collection of the Royal House of Prussia, which was engraved by Paul Mercier, and also by Dupuis for Julianne's great work, and the *Gamme d'Amour*, lately in the collection of Mrs. Lyne Stephens.

Mark how, more or less in all this little group of pieces, the figures have an inner life and reflectiveness of their own, and are not so much dramatically brought together as connected by a community of mood. Even when he is avowedly dealing with the stage, as in inventions of the class to be considered in the next chapter, the master aims at representing moods and moments of evanescent feeling more than mere dramatic scenes; when he attempts these last, which is but rarely, we have seen that he almost invariably fails.

¹ E. and J. de Goncourt, *Watteau*, p. 44.

² No. 98 at the "Old Masters" in 1889.

³ No. 97 *ibid.*

CHAPTER IV

"He has been a sick man all his life. He was always a seeker after something in the world that is there in no satisfying measure, or not at all."

WALTER PATER.

WE must retrace our steps considerably, and halt a moment at the year 1716, in the month of June of which the Italian comedians banished by Louis Quatorze under the circumstances already mentioned were recalled by the Regent, and received by Paris with open arms. They played at the Opera until their own theatre, the Hôtel de Bourgogne, could be repaired and put into decent order again, and were privileged to call themselves the "Comédiens italiens de S.A.R. Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans." The date is of importance, since we are thus compelled to group between 1716 and 1721, the date of the painter's death, those numerous Comédie italienne pieces in which Watteau has expressed the very essence of his art. True, he might previously have made use of the studies and designs of his master Gillot, who knew the comedians before their expulsion in 1697, and utilised their bizarre charm; and, moreover, we know from Caylus that he possessed a wardrobe of costumes both festal and comic, and was in the habit of dressing up in them such persons as were good enough to serve as models, taking them preferably in the attitudes suggested by Nature herself. Still it seems in the highest degree unlikely that he could have procured the Comédie italienne dresses until the return of the troupe had made them familiar to a new generation.

An instance of such a travesty as this is the picture engraved by Thomassin fils as *Sous un Habit de Mezzetin*. Here the "gros brun au visage riant" who stands fronting the spectator, the centre of a group, is stated by Mariette to be the portrait of Sirois surrounded by his family; and Mantz deems it possible than even the famous *Gilles* of the La Caze

Collection in the Louvre may be the portrait under this habit of an accommodating neighbour posing before the artist.

Those who still cling to the romantic anecdote which would make of Watteau on his first appearance in Paris the painter-in-ordinary and the favourite of the *corps de ballet* at the Opera, though he could then have been but a raw provincial boy and a limner utterly inexperienced, will be equally unwilling to give up the legend which shows him the assiduous frequenter, even more behind the scenes than in the front of the house, of the Comédie italienne, and the favoured admirer of more than one actress. It is certain that Watteau was an *habitué* of the house, and took a great delight in the performances of the *Commedia dell' Arte*, in which the real and the ideal, the farcical and the imaginative elements were so strangely mingled. Yet it is more than likely that he who exaggerated shyness almost to the point of misanthropy, who was never the real Watteau save when he was hidden away from the world with his pictures and his few male friends, contented himself with the study of Columbine and her sisters as a spectator only. We need not imagine him a puritan or a moral exception in that time of license which was the Regency; but Gersaint and Caylus expressly describe him as "libertin d'esprit, mais sage de mœurs," and as cold, embarrassed, not himself, in the company of strangers. It was the Comédie italienne itself that interested him, with its curious generalised types of humanity, with its streak of the ideal running through traditional farce, with its element of remoteness from the everyday world, and yet of actuality.

The *Gilles* of the La Caze collection is a full-length, life-size figure of the personage, wearing the loose white garments of Pierrot, and fronting the spectator with a humorous gaze full of suppressed vivacity, though the attitude is the professional one of puppet-like stiffness: in the background are other personages of the Italian Comedy. Here we have at once proof and disproof of the dictum that Watteau failed when he attempted figures in dimensions more considerable than those to which he in general restricted himself. The subsidiary figures lose here all true significance and become mere filling up, but the full-length of Gilles himself is a masterpiece of painting which hardly has its parallel in the French art of the eighteenth century. The treatment of the white dress painted in a full, even, open-air light, with delicate transparent shadows,

is only to be compared, for supreme mastery of a technical difficulty, with the so-called *White Nun* in Tiepolo's great altar-piece in the church of the Gesuati (S. M. del Rosario) at Venice. Even in this *Gilles*, however, though the piece is evidently a portrait, there is an element of the impersonal; Watteau here as elsewhere seeks to express the type in the first place, the individual only in the second. Almost the only other instance in which our master attempted the human figure in life-size is the fine three-quarter length portrait of M. de Julienne now in the collection of M. Groult at Paris. The Mæcnas here appears leaning in rather dreamy fashion on a pedestal; he wears with a certain désinvoiture the usual flowing wig, and a magnificent embroidered suit which announces already the modes of Louis Quinze.

A small *Gilles and his Family*¹ belongs to the Hertford House Collection, and has something in common with *Les Jaloux*. The same personage stands in his characteristic attitude, the centre of the *Comédiens italiens* (engraved by Baron). But here, if the rôle is the same the actor who holds it is clearly another. The original work belonging to Dr. Mead was some five years ago recovered by M. Groult in London, and is now with the other Watteaus of his collection in Paris. Mantz describes it as extremely brilliant in colour and painted with a free and spirited touch; he guesses that the handsome disdainful coquette who stands next to Gilles may have been studied from an Englishwoman. If the writer's memory serves him, there is in the collection of Lord Iveagh at Grosvenor Place, a repetition or copy of the *Comédiens italiens*, rather heavy and dull in colour.

It has been assumed that this last picture and the *Amour paisible* (the one engraved by Baron), were painted during Watteau's sojourn in London, mainly, no doubt, because they both formed part of Dr. Richard Mead's collection, dispersed in 1754;² but this conjecture, though a fair and plausible one, is not otherwise corroborated, and it appears at least possible that the *Comédiens italiens*, of which the elements were not to be found in London, was taken to England by Watteau when he started.

Another delightful group of *Comédie italienne* types is that contained in the miniature masterpiece engraved by Thomassin fils with the foolish

¹ No. 95 in the "Old Masters" in 1889.

² The *Comédiens italiens* at that sale fetched £50.



Gilles, by Watteau. From the picture in the La Caze Collection at the Louvre.

and inappropriate verses beginning "*Coquettes qui pour voir galans au rendez-vous. . .*." The original picture is now in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg. Then we have—to take only a few instances—the *Mezzetin jouant de la Guitare* of the Hermitage (engraved by B. Audran, and by L. Müller for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*) ; the injured but still charming *Voulez-vous triompher des Belles* (engraved by Thomassin) of the Hertford House Collection ;¹ *La Sérénade italienne* in the collection of Mr. Alfred de Rothschild ;² and the particularly exquisite little piece with Pierrot and Harlequin, in the collection of the Earl of Northbrook, and there misnamed *Masquerade*,³ but engraved by L. Surugue in 1719 under the title *Arlequin, Pierrot, et Scapin*.

Not to the Italian but probably to the French comedy types belong the popular pair of pictures in the La Caze Collection at the Louvre—*La Finette* and *L'Indifférent*. Both are in the first place original experiments in colour, in the second studies of character. *La Finette* sits playing on a guitar, robed all in greenish-grey under a grey evening sky with rosy reflections echoing her flesh-tints. The costume of *L'Indifférent* is all delicate rose-pinks and shades of blue, with *rappels* of these colours in the sky (both pictures were engraved by Rajon for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1870). The *Comédiens français* (engraved by J. M. Liotard) a companion piece to the *Comédiens italiens*, is now in an injured state at Berlin, in the collection of the Royal House. It is invaluable as a document, since it evidently gives faithfully the pompous Louis-Quatorzian tragedy costumes à la Bérain, as then still worn ; but as a presentment of even formal stage passion it is inadequate.

It is convenient to mention here, although there is no special reason for doing so in this particular place, two important Watteaus, both of them in England. The one is the *Fêtes vénitiennes* at Edinburgh, in the National Gallery of Scotland (engraved by Laurent Cars), the other the *Repast in a Wood* at the Dulwich Gallery. The Edinburgh picture which was once in Julienne's collection, and thence passed into that of Randon de Boisset, is a Watteau of very fine quality, clear and brilliant in colour, and well preserved.⁴ The Dulwich picture, though less

¹ No. 99 at the "Old Masters" in 1889 as *Harlequin and Columbine*.

² No. 100, *ibid.*

³ No. 94, *ibid.*

⁴ The National Gallery of Scotland possesses also another genuine Watteau—a delicately touched little pastoral, with a shepherd and shepherdess examining a bird's nest.

celebrated than its companion, the *Plaisirs du Bal*, is a work of peculiar charm, of a pathos which has little to do with the mundane subject, but depends upon the poetic twilight illumination. The longer, looser stroke of the brush in this piece contrasts curiously with the crispness and peculiar mannerism of the *Bal*. The composition of the *Repast in the Wood* is strikingly similar to that of the large *Rendez-vous de Chasse* presently to be mentioned, and, by analogy with some similar instances already discussed, we may reasonably assume that it preceded that work, and served as its foundation.

We do not know the exact date when Watteau renounced the splendid hospitality of Crozat, and recommenced his restless life of migration from place to place. Gersaint says that the love of liberty and independence caused him to take this step; that he was determined to live according to his caprice and even in obscurity. According to him Watteau then retired to a little lodging in the house of Sirois, and absolutely forbade his friends to disclose his address to those who should ask for it. Caylus makes him, on leaving the Hotel Crozat take up his residence with Nicholas Vleughels, a Parisian painter of Flemish extraction, who was one of his colleagues at the Academy, and had recently become his friend. Both statements may very well be true; the wanderer probably began with Sirois, and from him migrated to Vleughels.

Caylus, seeking to pose as the philosopher and the man of perfect balance before the august assembly to which he recalls after many years the events of Watteau's career, tells the Academicians that at this juncture, grieved at his instability and that lack of seriousness which prevented him from enjoying any prosperity in the present or having any expectations in the future, he lectured his friend to no purpose. To his arguments based on the state of the painter's health, which from day to day declined, on the uncertainty of his future, on that very love of independence which was one of his most excessive characteristics—to all this fine sermon Caylus only obtained the answer: "*Le pis aller, n'est-ce pas l'hôpital? On n'y refuse personne.*" We may, if we choose, read in these words a courageous disregard of what the future may bring forth, and so Mantz does interpret them. But may they not—seeing what is now already the physical and mental state of the hapless painter of *Fêtes galantes*—be just as well taken to express a kind of despair,

a feeling that the effort to ballast the ship and put her into the right course is no longer worth the making?

Of much more substantial benefit, according to Caylus's own showing, was the interference of M. de Julienne in Watteau's affairs. That we have here a real friendship, and not merely a bond of interest between patron and artist—an equal relation cemented by true sympathy—is proved not only by the double portrait already referred to, in which the friends are depicted together in the glade of a park,¹ but by the care taken by Julienne in insuring his *protégé's* welfare and putting his worldly affairs in order. The best evidence on record of this friendship belongs, however, to the period after Watteau's return from England, and will be most appropriately touched upon a little later on.

Watteau appears to have remained with Sirois until some time in 1718, or the beginning of 1719, when he set up house with his comparatively new friend Vleughels in the remote and tranquil Faubourg St. Victor, then covered with convents and gardens. Vleughels himself, writing on the 20th of September, 1719, to the famous Venetian pastelliste Rosalba Carriera, says: "An excellent person, M. Watteau, of whom you have no doubt heard, has an ardent desire to know you. He would like to have even the least little specimen of your work, and in exchange would send you something of his own, since it would be impossible for him to offer you the real value in money of what you might send. He is my friend; we live together, and he begs me to present to you his humble respects." This enables us, without discrediting Caylus, who places the date of Watteau's journey to England in 1719, to fix it as having taken place in the last months of that year. As the diary of La Rosalba with its laconic entry on the 21st of August, 1720, "*Vu M. Vateau et un Anglais*" proves that he was back again in Paris at that date, the stay in London cannot have lasted the whole year that he attributes to it.

The supposition of Horace Walpole that our master, already then broken in health, crossed the Straits, not to earn English guineas but to consult the famous Dr. Richard Mead, will not resist a close

¹ The lines beginning "Assis auprès de toi sous ces charmants ombrages" were no doubt added afterwards, when the piece was engraved by Tardieu; but they are, at any rate, evidence of Julienne's affectionate regard for his friend.



Fêtes vénitiennes, by Watteau. From the picture in the National Gallery of Scotland.

examination, though it is certain that the two during our master's visit came into contact with each other. Watteau may well have been compelled when he got over here to seek medical advice, and it is pretty clear that his connection with Dr. Mead had some such origin as this. But that he, so careless of himself and his fortunes, so incapable of making plans ahead, should have undertaken the journey expressly to submit his case to the English doctor is hardly conceivable.

The strong probability is that, lectured as he was on his improvidence by his intimates, he resolved at last to make some provision for the future, and thought to make it in this way. Gersaint tells us that his friend's disinterestedness was so great that more than once he flew into a passion because he, Gersaint, persisted in offering him a reasonable price for certain things, which he out of generosity refused to accept. Then it is recorded that M. de Julienne rescued out of the shipwreck—the expression is Gersaint's—at the time of Watteau's departure for England 6,000 livres, and took charge of that sum for him, as afterwards appeared. The helpful friend notes, however, that during the stay in England, his works being much sought after and well paid for, the artist at last learnt the value of money, for which he had hitherto shown an excessive disdain.

An absolute stranger in London, and neither speaking nor understanding the language, Watteau was naturally miserable. In Paris he had the small band of companions with one of whom to take refuge when the demon of restlessness drove him onward yet another stage in the weary journey. To London he came alone, already a consumptive invalid, more in want than ever of the kindly ministrations of others, and he rapidly grew worse in the atmosphere of fog and coal-smoke, which even then distinguished the English from the French capital.

What Watteau actually painted over here, and where he painted, who were his friends and patrons, are so many matters of conjecture ; in a sea of uncertainty there are only one or two fixed islets of meagre fact. Both Gersaint and Caylus agree, however, that he was cordially received in England, and that from the business point of view he did well. Whether he actually painted much during his short voluntary exile, or disposed of pictures already painted, or derived advantage both in the one way and in the other is not recorded. It has been seen that the two pictures

included in the sale of Dr. Mead's Collection in 1754—the *Comédiens italiens* and the *Amour paisible*—are held to have been actually painted in England, mainly, no doubt, because they afterwards formed part of a contemporary English collection.

Again, there are in the Royal Collection of Buckingham Palace four canvases ascribed to Watteau—these being two *Fêtes Champêtres*, *M. de Pourceaugnac Pursued by his Women and Children*, and *Harlequin and Pierrot* in a composition of ten figures. The tradition is that these pictures were ordered of Watteau by George I. on the recommendation of Dr. Mead, and painted during the sojourn in England; yet there is nothing but hearsay to support this pretty story, which has in it, apart from the pictures themselves, elements of inherent improbability.

In the first place Dr. Mead was not physician to George I., but that very different thing, physician to George, Prince of Wales, and it was only in 1727 (on the accession of his Royal client as George II.) that he obtained the formal appointment.

In the second place the pictures speak for themselves, and it is difficult to understand how any one who has had an opportunity of examining them could have a moment's hesitation as to their origin. They are all four manifestly by Pater, and not of his very best. The emptiness of the handling, the superficial and lifeless prettiness, the lack of true character, are conclusive. The most curious thing is that the four pictures are actually catalogued in the Royal Collection as by the pupil, not the master, so that the attribution to Watteau must have rested entirely on some popular tradition. Mantz, quoting J. W. Mollett's statement, is evidently not convinced by it, but is unable to discuss the pictures themselves, which he has not seen.

Watteau while in London made the acquaintance of one Philippe Mercier, who, according to the *Anecdotes of Painting*, was a limner of portraits and familiar genre, of French origin but born in Berlin, and the pupil of Frederick the Great's court-painter, the Frenchman Pesne. There exists in the British Museum a very scarce print showing this Mercier surrounded by his family—Mrs. Mercier holding her husband's pipe, and one of the little girls riding astride a stick with a horse's head—which is believed to be taken from a slight sketch by Watteau, referred

to as such by Mariette. It is signed "P. M." (Philippe Mercier), a signature which is to be found on several mediocre prints after our master. Edmond de Goncourt, with whom on this point Mantz is in agreement, assigns to this third-rate painter, who thus in a way came within the sphere of Watteau's influence, the picture *L'Escamoteur*, catalogued as by the latter in the La Caze collection at the Louvre. It is the easier to accept as highly probable this attribution, seeing that the little genre subject in question is manifestly no Watteau, and as certainly a very second-rate performance.

Another trace of Watteau's residence in London is to be found in the curious print engraved (as late as 1739) by Arthur Pound, after a design by him. This is a satirical portrait of Dr. Misaubin, a French quack, who had settled in London, and was there earning a miserable living by the sale of certain pills, a supposed remedy against a disease which was terribly rife in the eighteenth century. He appears as lean as Romeo's apothecary, standing in a cemetery strewn with dead men's bones, skulls, and coffins. Mariette has it that this sinister and not very successful caricature was improvised by our painter across a table in a coffee-house. Some time in or before August 1720 Watteau must have journeyed back to Paris from the land of fog, since, as we have seen, he was on the 21st of August of that year, presented to La Rosalba. He had, as we must infer, derived some substantial benefit from his stay with us, but his malady, as was inevitable, had made further progress.¹

Rosalba Carriera, then about forty-five years of age and in the height of her fame, had been tempted to Paris by the financier Crozat, who had offered her the hospitality of the splendid mansion where, a few years before, Watteau had himself spent his happiest and most tranquil days.

It was not until February 1721 that the much-courted Venetian sat to Watteau for the portrait engraved by J. M. Liotard with the lines : "La plus belle des fleurs ne dure qu'un matin," and of which the original

¹ If Watteau did really, as we are told by Caylus and Gersaint, make money in England, it is not easy to make out where it went to. When he died a few months afterwards he left only the modest sum of 9000 livres, made up of the 6000 livres saved for him by M. de Julienne, and of 3000 produced by a sale of his effects carried out by Gersaint in his last days, when he was thinking of returning to Valenciennes.



A. Watteau pinxit

J. M. Liotard sculp.

Portrait of Rosalba Carriera, by Watteau. From the engraving by J. M. Liotard.

is now no longer traceable. An earlier state of the print actually bears the title *Rosa Alba*, and, moreover, the big white roses which the fair one holds up in her silken cloak are a transparent allusion to the name of the artist. Judging from the engraving, we find Watteau here curiously little of a physiognomist, but making up by freshness and piquancy for what he lacks in individuality. Nowhere, even in the best of his few portraits—such as the *Gilles* of the La Caze collection, the *Sirois*, the *M. de Julienne with Watteau*, or the *Portrait of the Musician Rebel* (engraved by Moyreau from a drawing by Watteau)—does he attain to that intensity of characterisation which distinguishes the great masters of portraiture, though he makes some amends by conveying a strong impression of vitality.

The *Rosalba* painted, or rather drew our artist at the same moment that he portrayed her. This likeness appeared in the *Lalive de July* sale in 1769 and there fetched only one hundred and twenty-three livres.

She has hit herself off much more happily, so far as essential character goes, than her brother-artist did, in the portrait in the Dresden Gallery, in which she appears wearing coquettishly a blue cap and a mantle of the same colour, both trimmed with swansdown. Watteau had on his return from England taken up his quarters with the *sieur Gersaint*, his ever-faithful friend, who was now established as a dealer on his own account. He tells us that the painter came to him and asked to be permitted “pour se dégourdir les doigts,” to paint a *plafond*¹ which Gersaint was to exhibit outside. He hesitated to agree to this, thinking that it would be much better to occupy Watteau with something worthier of him, but, seeing that he would thus be giving his friend pleasure, he finally consented. The result was the famous *Enseigne de Gersaint* (engraved by P. Aveline). “It is well known,” the dealer proceeds to say, “what a success the piece had. The whole was done direct from nature; the attitudes were so true and easy, the arrangement so natural, the groups were so well hit off, that the gaze of the people passing by was drawn towards them, and even the most

¹ A signboard painted to be hung up outside could not of course be a ceiling, and the work shows no sign whatever of having been designed to be looked at from below. Gersaint wrote his *Memoir* in 1744, that is twenty-four years after the picture was painted. The word is, however, used in similar fashion to denote a famous signboard painted for a barber-surgeon by Chardin.



Watteau. Anc.

Braun, Clement & Co. Ph. Sc.

*L'Enseigne de Gersaint (right half)
From the picture in the Royal Palace at Berlin.*

skilful painters came more than once to admire. It was the work of eight days, and during that time, he only painted on the picture in the morning, being hindered by his weakness from devoting longer sittings to it. It is the only production which at all stimulated his *amour-propre*, and this he did not hesitate to confess to me. M. de Julienne now owns it, and it has been engraved under his auspices."

The *Enseigne* passed afterwards out of the collection of Gersaint and was, by what Vandal we know not, cut into two halves—a proceeding to which the curious composition of the piece, with its two main groups absolutely distinct the one from the other, rather easily lends itself. Both halves were at different times and from different persons acquired in Paris by the skilful agents of Frederick the Great, and the work is now in the old Palace of Berlin, with the *Embarquement* and other fine examples of French eighteenth-century art.¹ Here we have our master, almost for the only time since he became completely himself, face to face with an everyday subject calling for realistic treatment—one, indeed, which its very nature precluded him from poetizing, though not from adorning with that inimitable sprightliness and grace which was inseparable from his style. The conception is a purely Flemish one, resembling those of Teniers—in the numerous canvases in which he portrayed the gallery of the Archduke Leopold William of which he was the keeper—and of many another Netherlandish artist of the seventeenth century who could be named. We must not expect of Watteau in a piece which was primarily a decoration, the mere documentary accuracy of those Netherlandish predecessors, or the mordant satire of manners with which Hogarth delights us in not dissimilar subjects. The composition of this wonderful improvisation is fairly open to criticism, divided as it is by the door of the shop in the centre into two nearly equal halves; but the painting of the framed pictures and mirrors on the walls is masterly in its breadth and ease, and most happily subordinated to the figures. The eighteenth century has produced nothing more charming of its kind, more fresh and delicious in its genuine elegance, than the group of smart customers, female and male, who are seen examining Gersaint's pictures, *bibelots*, and works of art. The tone of the painting which, unlike so many of the master's produc-

¹ A reduced copy of the *Enseigne*, by Pater, appeared at the Secrétan sale in 1889.

tions, is in perfect preservation, is not the *ton fleuri* with which we meet as a rule in the period of his maturity, but a cool, silvery harmony parsimonious of bright colour yet of most potent effect; and the execution is of an evenly sustained breadth throughout.

As painted in a silvery, greenish-grey tone and with a surprising ease and mastery of handling, the writer would like to place in this late period, after Watteau's return from England, the two spirited and delightful pictures in the Dresden Gallery, of which No. 781 is one of the most fascinating of all the *Fêtes galantes*, and No. 782, called after a stone effigy of the love-goddess in the foreground the *Fête-d'Amour*, is not less fine or less spontaneous in execution than its companion, though as a composition it must be pronounced straggling and ineffectual. Akin to these paintings in style and colouring, and in a certain slightness combined with sureness of handling, is the *Fête champêtre*, No. 474b, in the Berlin Gallery, a picture which was transferred in 1889 from one of the royal palaces to the State museum.

In the same gallery are two of the most complete and admirable, two of the best preserved of all the master's works dealing with the stage, *L'Amour au Théâtre français* (engraved by C. N. Cochin) and *L'Amour au Théâtre italien* (engraved by the same). The annexed reproduction of the former painting renders unnecessary any detailed description; in suavity and poetic charm it is the rival of the *Plaisirs du Bal* at Dulwich. In *L'Amour au Théâtre italien*, we have the Italian comedy almost complete: Pierrot in the middle of the circle of actors playing the lute to Columbine; further on the Dottore di Bologna with his long false nose, Harlequin next to Pierrot, fat, jolly Mezzetin lighting up the night-scene with his torch—then, lastly, two young gentlemen in costume, who may be Scapin and Brighella. Nowhere else is the characterisation of the comedy personages by Watteau so keen or so humorous as here, and the piece has an irresistible buoyancy, a contagious charm, which give it a place apart even in his gallery of stage pictures.

The Berlin Gallery possesses besides these three admirable Watteaus, another little piece, *La Colation*, from the Suermondt Collection (engraved by Crépy fills).

A letter addressed by Watteau to M. de Julienne on the 2nd of September 1720,¹ enables us to fix as belonging to this latest

¹ MM. de Goncourt, *Watteau*, p. 43 (from the *Archives de l'Art français*).

period of our master's career the important *Rendez-vous de Chasse*,¹ now in the Hertford House Collection. "I cannot disguise from myself," he writes, "that this great canvas gives me pleasure, and I hope for some corresponding satisfaction on your part, and on that of Madame de Julienne, who like myself is greatly attracted by this hunting-subject. It became necessary for Gersaint to fetch La Serre for me, so that he might enlarge the canvas on the right side where I have added the horses under the trees. I felt hampered in that corner since I had added all that was decided upon (with respect to that part of the composition). I intend to resume work on that side of the canvas after mid-day on Monday, because in the morning I shall be busy devising the motives in sanguine. . . ."

This last passage is especially precious as showing Watteau actually at work. Even when adding an important group to a canvas of unusual size he makes no set design, but helps himself with *des pensées à la sanguine*.

The *Rendez-vous de Chasse*, is not in the best condition, and the composition has a certain one-sidedness well explained by the above passage from Watteau's letter. The touch shows, however, all that breadth and ease which distinguishes the painter's work at this period, and the spacious landscape—a forest-glade of Rubens-like character—is full of charm. Of identical dimensions (50 in. by 75 in.) and, it may be, executed as a pendant to it, is another picture from Hertford House, known as *The Garden Party*.² This is the *Fête champêtre* from the collection of Cardinal Fesch, which, with the rest of Lord Hertford's pictures appeared at the Manchester Exhibition in 1857, and there by the beauty of its sunset landscape and its sparkling figures delighted both Bürger and Mantz.

Watteau after six months' residence with Gersaint—that is about the beginning of 1721—finds his weakness on the increase, and fearing to become a burden to his kind host, insists on another apartment being procured for him. Gersaint has learnt by this time that to contradict or thwart the restless, wilful invalid is useless, and he accordingly obeys and takes a new lodging. It must have been now, in this last

¹ No 102 at the "Old Masters" in 1889.

² No. 91 *Ibid.*

station but one of his piteous onward course, that he writes to M. de Julienne, from Paris, the letter which by inference we are enabled to date the 3rd of May, 1721. For his solace Julienne has lent to him a great tome of Leonardo da Vinci's works, and this the sick painter returns, retaining for further perusal some manuscript letters of his idol Rubens. Quite simply, and without any whining for sympathy, he mentions that his sufferings deprive him of sleep, and begs for a visit on Sunday, promising as an inducement to exhibit some trifles, such as views of Nogent, done from sketches made in the company of Madame de Julienne. He winds up, faithful to the last to his art: "Je ne fais pas ce que je veux, en ce que la pierre grise et la pierre de sanguine sont fort dures en ce moment; je n'en puis avoir d'autres."

Again the malady passes into a more acute phase; his weariness increases, that restlessness, so entirely a symptom of his disease, and of which even the kindest friends so unkindly complain, augments; and he imagines, not unnaturally that he will breathe more freely in the country. He becomes impatient, and only regains his tranquillity when he learns that M. le Febvre, solicited by his friend, M. l'Abbé Haranger, Canon of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, has granted him an apartment in his house at Nogent near Vincennes. To this, his final resting-place Gersaint now conducts him, and returns every two or three days to afford the dying man what consolation he can. It is here that must be placed the most pathetic incident in the whole short career which in its very simplicity and lack of tragic incident, in the contrast which it affords between the man and his work, is so moving.

He had dismissed his fellow-townsmen, Jean-Baptiste Pater, after a short apprenticeship, either from motives of professional jealousy, or more probably because his impatient spirit could not support the irksomeness of a routine of teaching. He now reproached himself with having failed to do justice to the natural talent which he had recognised in Pater, and even, with the frankness of one who had no longer anything to conceal, owned to Gersaint that he had feared him. "He begged me," says the latter, "to send for him to Nogent so that he might do something towards repairing the injury he had inflicted upon him by his neglect, and so that he might at least profit by such instruction as he was still able to give. Watteau made him work in his

presence and gave up to him the remaining days of his life ; but Pater could only take advantage for a single month of this favourable opportunity. Death too promptly carried off Watteau. Pater confessed to me afterwards that all he knew he owed to this short space of time of which he was thus enabled to take advantage.”¹

Almost in his last days he occupied himself in painting for the curé of Nogent, whose ministrations he received, a *Christ on the Cross surrounded by Angels*.² Caylus says of this picture that if it had not the nobility or the elegance which such a subject calls for, it at least gave expression to the pain and suffering which the sick man felt when he painted it. Watteau's biographer is here again open to the suspicion of having coined for the occasion a fine phrase in consonance with the official traditions of the Academy.

The moribund painter, still pursued by the gadfly which stung him to move and ever to move, now felt a longing for his native air, and imagined that even yet it might cure him of his malady. It was at this point that, in order to provide funds, he caused Gersaint to make a sale of his effects, which realised 3,000 livres. Day after day he went on hoping against hope that he might regain strength sufficiently to undertake the journey, in which the devoted Gersaint was to accompany him ; but he was now rapidly sinking, and suddenly on the 18th of July, 1721, the final collapse came and he expired in the arms of his friend.

His little fortune of 9,000 livres went to the representatives of his family, and his drawings—the treasure which he himself valued most—were divided among his four dearest friends, M. de Julienne, l'Abbé Haranger, Hénin, and Gersaint. The *Mercur*, of which another intimate, Antoine de la Roque, was at the time director, announced his death in the following terms : “ The graceful and elegant painter whose death we announce was very distinguished in his profession. His memory will be ever dear to the true amateurs of painting. . . . ”

¹ One reason why the writer has placed in the last year of Watteau's life the two important pictures in the Dresden Gallery, already mentioned, is that their silvery grey-green tonality and piquancy of execution evidently inspired Pater, whose whole style seems based upon this peculiar and unusual phase of his master's art.

² Perhaps suggested by *Le Crucifix aux Anges* of Le Brun, now in the Louvre, Watteau's last picture appeared once again at the Marchant sale in 1779, where it fetched 130 livres. It cannot now be traced.

Watteau's old patron Crozat, writing to La Rosalba at Venice on the 11th of August, 1721, says : " We have lost poor M. Watteau who ended his days brush in hand." The Academy contents itself with a bare mention on its minutes of the painter's death. But then Watteau was the most unacademical of Academicians ; his style, his methods, his subjects were all more or less outside what the official body then professed, and his disregard of tradition and conventionality in art was only equalled by his disregard of the Academy and its interests, of the written and unwritten laws by which it was regulated.

The true monument raised to the memory of Watteau, and one of the noblest records in existence of an artist's life-work is M. de Julienne's colossal *Recueil* published in 1734 under this title :—" *L'Œuvre d'Antoine Watteau, Peintre du Roy en son Académie Roïale (sic) de Peinture et Sculpture. Gravé d'après ses tableaux et desseins (sic) originaux tirés du Cabinet du Roy et des plus curieux de l'Europe. Par les soins de M. de Julienne. (Engravers, Tardieu, B. Audran, C. N. Cochin, Thomassin fils, Laurent Cars, De Larmessin, Le Bas, Lépicié, Aveline, J. M. Liotard, &c. &c.).*"

These two magnificent volumes, which contain reproductions of the vast majority of Watteau's more important works, and among them of many the originals of which are no longer to be traced, still stands forth as the most precious of all documents in connection with the master's art, and will yet no doubt be the means of adding to the list of his authentic paintings some which at present remain unidentified or have been given up as lost.

In the great *Recueil* is incorporated that delightful series of character and costume studies, "*Figures de Modes, dessinées et gravées à l'eau-forte par Watteau et terminées au burin par Thomassin le fils.*" Of these only seven are, according to M. E. de Goncourt, etched by Watteau (see *Catalogue raisonné*). The *Recueil* also includes the even more characteristic "*Figures francaises et comiques nouvellement inventées par M. Watteau, peintre du Roy*" (engraved by Thomassin, Cochin, &c.).

The second instalment of this great undertaking consisted of the "*Figures de différent Caractères de Paysages et d'Etudes par Antoine Watteau,*" giving in two smaller volumes etched reproductions by Boucher, the Audrans, Cars, Cochin, Lépicié, Carle Vanloo, and other artists of

note,¹ of the master's drawings and designs, both figures and landscapes, including many of which the originals can yet be pointed out. Where this is the case we find the inimitable *coup de crayon* of the great draughtsman but imperfectly translated by the point, even though the translator be Boucher himself; but where the originals are not forthcoming, the engraved reproductions pass muster and afford some pleasure and profit. It is from them, as has been seen, that many incidental studies for still existing works have been identified, and it must not be forgotten that to this series we owe the rescue from oblivion of the best extant portrait of the artist by himself.

If we may judge by the enhanced prices obtained by Watteau's works as late as the third quarter of the eighteenth century, it must be assumed that, notwithstanding the vogue of later painters of the Louis Quinze period, his fame went on increasing as the century grew older. At the Blondel de Gagny sale in 1776 the small *Champs Elysées* (Hertford House) fetched 6,515 livres, and at the Randon de Boisset sale in 1777 the *Fêtes vénitiennes* (Edinburgh) fetched 5,999 livres.

The Marquis d'Argens, writing soon after the publication of Julienne's *Recueil*, says with fantastic exaggeration that in twenty years two pictures by Raphael will in France be exchanged for a fan painted by Watteau! Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his Notes to William Mason's translation of Du Fresnoy's poem on the *Art of Painting*, does full justice to our master's excellence "in the florid style of colouring." But after the Revolution, when David was dictator, and nothing that was not freezing Græco-Roman classicism found mercy, when the study of light and air, of colour and decorative charm, of modish elegance and aristocratic grace, became mere poisonous frivolity, the surviving masters of the eighteenth century—even artists like the great sculptor Houdon—had to change or starve, and some lesser men both changed and starved.

For Watteau, as for his brilliant successors, this is a time of total eclipse. *L'Embarquement pour Cythère* itself, still the property of the Academy, is abandoned and forgotten in one of its school-studios, and there becomes the favourite target of David's students, who pelt it with bread-bullets and cover it with their contempt and ridicule.²

¹ Both Caylus and Julienne himself contributed etchings to the *Recueil*.

² MM. de Goncourt, *L'Art du XVIII^{me} siècle*, Chardin, p. 95.

In 1826, at the Vente Denon, the great *Gilles* of the Collection La Caze—in dimensions and quality one of the most important of all Watteau's works—fetches 650 francs (Catalogue La Caze 1880)!

Now again, what a change in the other direction! Competition among connoisseurs for the finer art of the eighteenth century is carried even to the point of excess. Of public galleries there can hardly be any question, for only in the rarest cases are they rich enough to compete on this particular ground with the amateur. Watteau, for whom as one of the most inventive and exquisite artists of his age, and, indeed, of all time, no homage is excessive, takes his place in the galleries lucky enough to contain anything from his hand on equal terms with the greatest among the masters, and indeed, the possession of a Watteau confers at once a certain distinction upon the collection which it adorns.

A Watteau not of the very first rank like *L'Occupation selon l'Age*, brought, we have seen, 5,200 guineas at Christie's, while *L'Accord parfait*, its companion in the James sale, fetched 3,500 guineas. Two representative drawings, formerly in the collection of Miss James, the one, *Five Heads of Women and two of Young Boys*, the other *Three Studies of the Head of Madame Duclos*, reached respectively at the sale of the late Monsieur Josse of Paris the fabulous figures of 20,000 francs and 24,000 francs, the last being probably the highest sum ever paid for a single drawing. According to Dohme, a dealer, who must indeed have been the most audacious of mortals, some twelve years ago ventured to offer the sum of £12,500 sterling (250,000 marks) for the *Embarquement pour Cythère* in the Royal Palace of Berlin.

We no longer, like Caylus himself, and like the pseudo-Romans or David's following, range painters in an order of precedence depending on the category to which their art belongs, or care whether it be "high art" or genre, whether it be great or small according to the measurement of the professors and the pedants. If an artist may be called great because he adds a new joy, a new smile to art, because with the sunlight of his genius he transfigures the frivolous realities of an artificial time so that they stand forth created anew, glowing in the rainbow hues of poetry, yet lose in the metamorphosis no jot of essential truth, then Antoine Watteau was a great master.

INDEX

- ALBERTINA (Vienna), 20
 Arenberg Collection, 52, 53
 Argens, Marquis d' 87
 "Arlequin jaloux," 53
 Arlequin, Pierrot et Scapin 72
 Artaria Collection, 36 (note)
 "Assemblée dans un Parc," 55
 Aubert, 20
 Audran, Claude 15, 16, 19, 22, 24, 25
 Audran, B. 11, 30, 36, 42, 66, 72, 86
 Aumale, Duc d' 36, 50
 Aveline, P. 17, 62, 67, 80, 86
- Bas, P. le 66, 86
 Baron, Bernard 28, 51 (note), 67, 70
 Barrois, 47, 59
 Bérain, Jean 15, 16, 92
 "Berger Content, Le" 17
 "Bergers, Les" 50
 Berlin, 7, 13 (note), 41, 50, 52, 53, 61, 64, 72, 81, 82, 88
 Bernstein, M. Marcel, Collection of 51
 Boisset, Randon de (Collection) 72, 87
 "Bon Voyage," 52, 66, 67
 Bos, Renard du 30
 Bos, Jeanne Renard du 66
 Boucher, 16, 20, 21, 48
 Bouillon, Duchesse de 15
 British Museum, 13 (note), 32, 36, 40, 55, 77
 Broadwood, Mrs. (Collection) 53
 Browell, Col. E. (Collection) 54
 Buckingham Palace Collection, 36, 77
 Bürger, W. 6, 53, 64, 83
 Burlington House, 53
 "Buveur, Le" 17
- Campagnola, D. 42
 Cardon, A. 53
 Carriera, Rosalba 74, 78, 80, 86
 Cars, Laurent 27, 72, 86
 "Cascade, La" 40
 Caylus, Comte de 6, 9, 11, 15, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 38, 47, 54 and note, 55, 56, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 78, 85, 88
 Cellier, M. 9, and note
 "Champs Elysées, Les" 55, 64, 87
 Chantilly, 17, 50, 52
 Chardin, N. 80 (note)
 "Charmes de la Vie, Les" 41, 52, 67
 "Chat Malade, Le" 14
 Chedel, P. 11, 46
 Cochin, C. N. 26, 28, 82, 86
 "Comédiens français, Les" 72
 "Comédiens italiens, Les" 70, 72, 77
 Crépy (fils), 17, 27, 82
 Crozat, M. 10, 30, 47, 60, 73, 78, 86
 Crozat Collection, 22, 27 (note), 31, 41, 51
 Crozat, Hôtel 45 and note, 51, 59, 73
- David, Louis 87
 "Défillé, Le" (*sic*), 28
 "Délassements de la Guerre, Les" 27
 "Dénicheur de Moineaux, Le" 16, 17
 Denon Collection, 87
 "Départ de Troupe," 23, 25—27
 "Départ des Comédiens italiens, Le" 14 and note
 Desplaces, 30, 59
 "Diverses Figures Chinoises," 20
 Dohme, Richard, 7, 10 (note), 12 (note), 14 (note), 26, 38, 50, 53, 88
 Dou, Gerard 12

- "Diane au Bain," 62 and note
 Dresden Gallery, 34, 64, 82, 85
 Dulwich Gallery, 40 (note), 41, 54, 56, 72, 82
 Dupuis, 40, 59, 67
 Duquesnoy, François 40
 Edinburgh, 72, 87
 "Encampment, The " 28
 England, 7, 51 (note), 74, 76, 77, 82
 Ephrussi, Charles 7 (note)
 "Escorte d'Equipage," 26 (note), 27
 Famars, Le Hardy de 10
 "Famille, La " 40
 "Fatigues de la Guerre, Les " 27
 "Faux Pas, Le " 56
 Favannes, J. de 42, 51
 Febvre, M. le 84
 Fesch, Cardinal (Collection of) 83
 Fessard, 30
 "Fête Champêtre," 64, 77, 83
 "Fête d'Amour," 64, 82
 "Fête Galante," 82
 "Fêtes Vénitiennes," 72, 87
 "Figure de différents caractères," 11 (note), 38 (note), 40, 48, 54 (note), 86
 "Figures de Mode," 86
 "Fileuse, La " 38 (note)
 "Finette, La " 38 (note), 64, 72
 Fosse, Charles de la 45, 46
 Frederick the Great, 77
 "Gamme d'Amour, La " 67
 Gagny, Blondel de (Collection) 87
 Gatchina Palace, 66
 Gautier, Théophile 6, 60
Gazette des Beaux Arts, 7 (note), 8, 10, 15 (note), 51, 60, 72
 George I., 77
 George II., 77
 Gérin, Jacques Albert 9 and note, 10
 Gersaint, 6, 9, 11, 12, 25, 28, 30, 40, 45, 46, 48, 58, 69, 73, 76, 78 (note), 80 and note, 81, 83—85
 Gillot, Claude 12 and note, 13 and note, 14 and note, 15, 16, 47, 60
 "Gilles," 68—70, 80, 87
 "Gilles and his Family," 70
 Giorgione, 41—43
 Glasgow Gallery, 26 (note)
 Goncourt, E. and J. de 6, 8, 50, 60, 61, 67 (note), 82 (note), 87
 Goncourt, Edmond de 7, 8, 26, 30, 38, 40 (note), 46, 52, 78, 86
 Grison, 23
 Groult Collection, 70
 "Halte, La " 28
 "Halte d'Armée," 26 and note, 27 (note)
 Haranger, l'Abbé 84, 85
 Harlequin and Pierrot, 77
 Hannover, Emil 8
 Hénin, 36, 38, 47, 85
 Hertford House Collection, 41, 54, 55, 62, 67, 70, 72, 83
 Hermitage (St. Petersburg), 11, 12, 27 and note, 32
 "Heureux Age! Age d'Or!" 56
 His de la Salle Collection, 36
 "Holy Family," 66
 Hutin, 23
 "Iris, c'est de bonne heure," 56 and note
 Iveagh, Lord, Collection of 70
 Jacob, L. 14
Jahrbuch der könig. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen, 10 (note)
 "Jaloux, Les " 46 and note, 52, 70
 James, Miss (Collection) 28, 40 (note), 59 (note), 67, 88
 James, Mr. Andrew (Collection) 59
 Jeaurat, 20, 46 (note)
 Jeghers, 34 (note)
 Josse, M. (Collection) 88
 Jouvenet, 4
 Julienne, M. de 9, 11 (note), 16, 23, 27 and note, 48, 50, 61, 64, 66, 67, 70, 72, 74 and note, 76, 78 (note), 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87
 Julienne, Madame de 83, 84
 Jupiter and Antiope, 41

- "l'Accordée du Village," 52, 53, 56
 "l'Accord parfait," 59 (note), 67, 88
 Lalauze, Ad. 51
 "l'Alliance de la Musique et de la Comédie," 17
 Lalive de Jully Collection, 80
 "l'Amour au Théâtre française," 24, 41, 82
 "l'Amour au Théâtre italien," 82
 "l'Amour désarmée," 36
 "l'Amour paisible," 42, 51 and note, 70, 77
 "l'Amour pastoral," 52
 Lancret, 15, 25
 Lardenois, Michèle, 9
 Largilière, 46
 Larmessin, N. de 52, 53, 86
 "Leçon d'Amour, La" 64
 "l'Embarquement pour Cythère," 6, 34, 51, 52, 56, 59—61, 64, 66, 67, 81, 87, 88
 Lempereur, 34
 "l'Enseigne de Gersaint," 48, 80 and note, 81 and note, 82
 "l'Escamoteur," 78
 Lepicié, 86
 "l'Heureux Rencontre," 51
 "l'Ile Enchantée," 66
 "l'Indifférent," 72
 Liotard, J. M. 14, 72, 78, 86
 "Liseuse, La" 12
 "l'Occupation selon l'Age," 40, 59, 88
 London, 70, 74, 76, 77, 78
 "Lorgneur, Le" 42, 50
 "Lorgneuse, La" 42
 Lorangère, Quentin de 6
 Louis XIV., 8, 13, 23, 41, 61, 68
 Louvre, The 12, 15, 22, 30, 38, 41, 55, 56, 60, 64, 69, 72, 78
 Luxembourg, The 10, 15, 22, 23, 24, 34
 Madrid (Museum), 34, 52
 Maintenon, Madame de 13, 14, 62
 Malcolm Collection, 32, 40, 55
 Mantz, Paul 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 28, 38, 40, 46, 50, 59, 60, 68, 70, 73, 77, 78, 83
 "Mariée de Village, La" 53, 56
 Mariette, 27, 30, 31, 34, 46, 68, 78
 Marly, 40 (note)
 "Marmotte, La" 11, 38 (note)
 "Masquerade," 72
 Mead, Dr. Richard 51, 70, 74, 76, 77
 Mercier, Paul 67, 77, 78
 Métayer, 11
 Meudon, Château of 15
 "Mezzetin jouant de la guitare," 72
 "Misaubin, Dr." 78
 Mollett, J. W., 8 (note), 59, 77
 Montmorency, 51
 Moyreau, J. 28, 80
 Muette, Château de la 15, 20, 21
 Müller, L. 72
 "Music Lesson, The" 52, 67
 "Music Party, The" 40 (note), 41, 52, 67
 National Gallery of Scotland, 72 and note
 "Nikou, femme bonze," 21
 Nogent, 84, 85
 Noirterre, Abbé de 66
 Northbrook Collection, 72
 Orleans, Duke of 68
 Paris, 9, 10, 11, 20, 27, 30, 34, 59, 68, 69, 70, 74, 78, 81
 Parrocel, 23
 Pater, Antoine, 47 (note)
 Pater, J. B. 7, 15, 47, 54, 77, 84, 85
 Pater, Walter 8
 Pesne, 77
 "Pierrot content," 46 (note), 52
 "Pillement d'un Village," 28 (note)
 "Plaisirs du Bal, Les" 24, 40 (note), 41, 54 and note, 56, 73, 82
 "Plaisirs pastorals, Les" 50
 "Portrait of the Musician Rebel," 80
 "Portrait of Julianne with Watteau," 64, 80
 Potsdam, 7, 42, 50, 53, 54, 56

- Pound, Arthur 78
 "Pourceaugnac, M. de" 77
- Rajon, Paul 72
 "Recrue allant joindre le Régiment," 25;
 26 and note, 27 (note), 28
 Recueil de l'Œuvre d'Antoine Watteau, 86,
 87
 "Rendezvous de Chasse," 67, 73, 82
 "Repast in a Wood," 72, 73
 "Repas de Campagne," 59
 "Repos de la Sainte Famille," 66
 "Retour de Campagne," 28
 "Revanche des Paysans, La" 28 (note)
 "Retour de Guinguette," 11
 Reynolds, 87
 Rome, 45
 Rooses, Max, 34, 36 (note)
 Rothschild, Mr. Alfred de, Collection of 53,
 56, 72
 Rothschild, Baron E. de, Collection of 26,
 28, 34
 Rubens, 10, 22, 24, 32, 33, 36, 41, 51, 56,
 67, 84
- Sarrazin, 40 (note)
 Scotin, G., 27, 42, 46, 54
 "Seasons, The" (decoration), 30, 38 (note)
 "Sérénade italienne," 72
 "Serre, La" 83
 Sichel, M. A. 26
 "Signature du Contrat, La" 52, 53
 "Singerie, La grande," 12, 17
 "Singerie, La petite," 12, 17
 Sirois, 25, 27 (note), 28, 30, 45, 46, 68, 73,
 74, 80
 Soane Museum, 53, 56
 "Sous un Habit de Mezzetin," 40, 68
 Spoele, 25
- Stephens, Mrs. Lyne, Collection of 67
 St.-Amand, 10, 33
 St. Nicholas, 12
 Suermondt Collection, 82
 "Surprise," La 36
 Surugne, L. 67, 72
- Tardieu, N. H. 48, 50, 55, 56, 61, 74
 (note), 86
 "Tête-à-Tête, Le" 42
 Thomassin, S. 25, 26, 68, 72
 Thomassin (fils), 70, 86
 Thoré, see Bürger
 Titian, 41, 42
 "Toilet, The" 62
- Valenciennes, 7, 8, 9—11, 13, 22, 25, 27,
 30, 47, 59, 78 (note)
 Vanloo, Carle, 86
 Vernansal, G. L. 23
 Versailles, 15
 "View in the Gardens of St. Cloud," 52
 Vleughels, Nicholas 73, 74
 "Voulez-vous triompher des Belles," 72
 "Vraie Gaîté, La" 10, 11
- Wallace Collection, see Hertford House
 Walpole, Horace 74
 Watteau, Antoine; his birth and parent-
 age, 9; his apprenticeship to Gérin, 9, 10;
 leaves Valenciennes for Paris, 11; works
 under Métayer, 11; comes under the
 influence of Gillot, 13; employed as
 Audran's assistant, 15; admitted to the
 Académie des Beaux Arts, 47; his ap-
 pearance and character, 48; his sojourn
 in England, 76—78; settles at Nogent,
 84; his death, 85
 Watteau, Jean Philippe 9
 Winter Palace (St. Petersburg), 72

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